The New Economy

California JOURNAL

March 1995 $3.95

Independent analysis of politics and government

1970 25 1995
Public Service Journalism

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1995 Roster
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Affirmative Action

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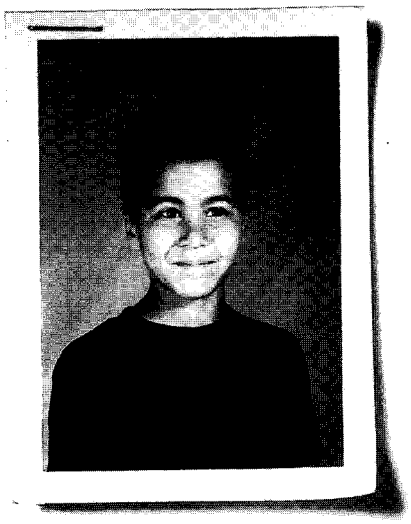

Joey is doing a report on Eskimos. Where does he go for information?

- ☐ those old encyclopedias in the attic
- ☐ Mom and Dad
- ☐ an Eskimo

The e-mail address is *elsie@artic.nsbsd.k12.ak.us*. That gets Joey to Barrow, Alaska, and to Elsie Itta, a North Alaskan Iñupiaq Eskimo. Elsie has danced the Eskimo Dance many times to celebrate Nalukataq and the season's whales. She makes huge batches of caribou soup. The words "fifteen below" don't scare her. However, she has a car, not a dog sled, and wears running shoes as often as mukluks.

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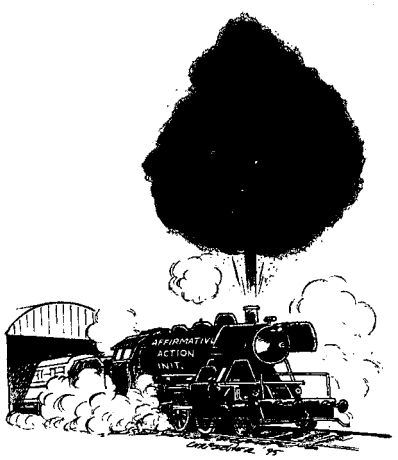
MARCH 1995
VOLUME XXVI, NUMBER 3

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

The 1995 Roster and Government Guide

At last! This issue of California Journal *contains the annual* Roster and Government Guide, *including Capitol and district staff, phone and fax numbers, and addresses for: constitutional officers, agencies and departments, members of the Assembly and Senate, California's congressional delegation and the State Supreme Court. Also included are useful phone numbers and a listing of various legislative offices such as Legislative Analyst and Legislative Counsel.*



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The governor is proposing to celebrate California's fragile economic recovery with a tax cut.
By Steve Scott

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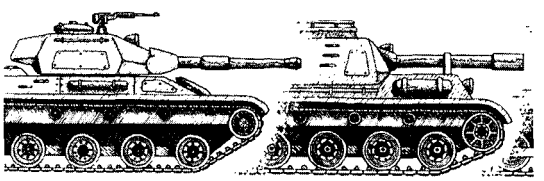
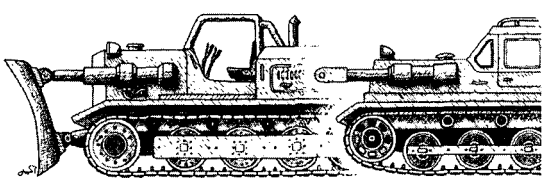
In 1994 the "three strikes" initiative was a political runaway train. The runaway train of 1996 could be repeal of the state's affirmative-action laws.
By Kirsten Mangold and A.G. Block

1970 25 1995 Public Service Journalism

As an on-going feature of our 25th Anniversary year, the *Journal* will present issues of importance to California's future. This month, we explore the changing nature of the California economy.





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For the past half-century, California's economy has been pegged to defense spending. For the next half-century, it will have to get along without heavy support from the Pentagon.
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Cover: *Sunday Morning in the Mines* (1872) by Charles Christian Nahl was provided courtesy of the Crocker Art Museum. Commissioned by Judge E. B. Crocker in 1872, the painting is on permanent display in the Museum located at 216 O Street in downtown Sacramento. The Museum is open Wednesday through Sunday from 10:00 am to 5:00 pm and Thursday evenings until 9:00 pm. Please call (916) 264-5423 for further information.

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Ends and means. The fabric of democracy frayed a bit last month, thanks to the machinations of the Assembly's head moth — Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco). His Expediency got himself elected speaker of the Assembly again, his success pegged to the ouster of then-Assemblyman Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia). Democratic law professors Assemblymembers Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto) and Sheila Kuehl (D-Los Angeles) later used legal mumbo-jumbo to argue that Mountjoy really wasn't ousted; he merely was deemed unqualified to accept his seat in the Assembly because he also had been elected to the Senate. But this smoke was whispy thin. Mountjoy was duly elected to the Assembly by constituents who knew full well that he also was running for the Senate. The duality in that situation didn't seem to bother voters in the 59th District — who, it would seem, ought to be the final arbiters of their own best interests. Mountjoy didn't murder anybody or commit some awful ethical breach or embezzle funds from a school-lunch program. No matter how much Democrats prattle on about it, Mountjoy was kicked over to the Senate because it was expedient that some Republican be removed from the Assembly so that Democrats could organize the house with a 40-39 majority.

The Tootsie Pop room. Room 317 in the restored Capitol looks like a routine committee hearing room — a circular dais for members, witness chairs, seats for an audience. But like a Tootsie Pop, this little sucker contains a surprise inside. First of all, the wall behind the dais sports a seal-like picture of the Capitol, with the words "The State Capitol, Sacramento, California" emblazoned beneath it. A fancy Vansan electronics-loaded lecturn is pushed against a door to the right of the dais, while a huge cabinet sits behind the rows of chairs reserved for the audience. Push a button, and two 40-inch television monitors rise from the cabinet. Another slightly smaller monitor sits inside another cabinet in a corner behind the dais. And there are jacks to plug in cameras. Push all the buttons, activate the cameras and, presto — this ordinary hearing room suddenly becomes a state-of-the-art teleconferencing center. It's just a coincidence, of course, that Room 317 lies next door to the suite of offices that until last month housed the senior staff and press operation for Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco), and that suite and committee room are connected by a door. Last month, however, the offices were remodeled and given over to Assembly Republican Leader Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga). During the remodeling, persons unknown removed the knob on the connecting door — on Brulte's side. Who will use Room 317? Senate Democrats seemed not to be aware of it. Nor was the Governor's Office. According to a spokesman for Governor Pete Wilson, the governor has access to a teleconferencing centers at CalTrans and at the Office of Emergency Services in Sacramento, but has never used either facility. And Assembly and Senate Republicans claim not to have known about it. The Speaker's Office says no one knew about the room because it hasn't been officially unveiled yet. Sort of a little surprise for the members. They have yet to say who authorized spending money for it, or how much it cost.

A fitful end. Nearly three months to the day after voters went to the polls, Republican U.S. Senate candidate Michael Huffington finally admitted that he lost the election to incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein. Gracious to the end, Huffington accompanied his concession press release with renewed allegations of fraud. The former GOP congressman repeatedly has charged that he was jobbed out of the election by a large army of illegal voters. He has, however, been unable to provide substantial proof of voter fraud associated with last November's election. Huffington had asked the Senate itself to investigate Feinstein's victory, and unseat her if it found the election tainted. His concession, however, ended that effort.

A glimpse of the future. This, then, is the way the era of term limits could play out. In the lame-duck term, will a lawmaker's personal future become more important than the constituency that sent him to Sacramento? Witness Assemblyman Ross Johnson (R-not Fullerton). Johnson, who currently represents the 72nd District, has filed to run in the special election to replace former Senator Marian Bergeson in the 35th Senate Distroct. To qualify for that election, however, Johnson had to be an "elector" in SD 35; in other words, he had to live there. Unfortunately, his Assembly district is nested in another Senate district, the 33rd. So to run in the special, Johnson moved to SD 35 — which means he also moved out of his Assembly district. So, whose interests does he now represent in the Assembly, those of the constituents he used to represent or those of the constituents he wants to represent?

Self-promotion. Usually, when a lawmaker is referred to as "ambitious," the tag comes from somebody else with a less-than-flattering view — an election opponent, the media, some other political foe. So, it's a bit refreshing to see an elected official use the adjective on himself. Hats off to Assemblyman Howard Kaloogian (R-Carlsbad), who put out a press release last week that referred to himself as "an ambitions freshman Republican." Kaloogian was touting his election as vice chairman of the American Legislative Exchange Council, a group of 2400 conservative lawmakers from around the country.

"If you pick up a starving dog and make him prosperous, he will not bite you. This is the principal difference between a dog and a man."

— Mark Twain

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Independent analysis of politics and government JOURNAL

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. *California Journal* (ISSN00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $59.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $42.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1994 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc., Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816.

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Capitol Focus is a Sacramento based, non–partisan political awareness project for young people from a variety of backgrounds and aptitudes throughout California. For thirteen years we have provided programs that enable participants to develop confidence and communication skills while immersing themselves in the issues and institutions of their communities and our state. Our overall goal is to develop enthusiasm for the democratic process, along with the knowledge, confidence and skills necessary for effective participation. Participants are encouraged to take an active role in efforts to improve their schools and communities. Here is a list of upcoming conferences, activities and events:

POLITICAL DISCOVERY

March 5–7, 1995. **SOLD OUT. THANKS!** A three day conference in Sacramento offered to all California eighth grade students. The program focuses on current statewide issues, the legislative process, skill building, and group discussion. Conference activities also include tours of local historical sites, social events, and a narrated cruise on the Sacramento river.

SPRINGTIME IN SACRAMENTO

April 23–26th, 1995. A comprehensive four day conference in Sacramento open to high school students statewide. The conference focuses on timely issues facing California policy– makers. Activities include participatory seminars, debates, simulated hearings, research, investigative interviews, and skill building. Schedule also includes tours of local historical sites, social events, and a narrated cruise on the Sacramento river.

CALIFORNIA ROAST

Probable Dates April 27th or May 15, 1995. A festive annual fundraising dinner attended by up to 500 of California's top elected officials, lobbyists, political consultants and others. Proceeds help cover Capitol Focus administrative and operating expenses so that programs may be offered at reduced rates. *Announcement by Mail Soon. Call Now to Reserve Best Tables.*

CALIFORNIA YOUTH ACTION LEAGUE

March 3, 1995, Open House in Los Angeles. An on–going, community–based, civic participation project with successful chapters now established in Richmond and South Central Los Angeles. Based on a democratically derived mandate, each youth–managed chapter will pursue a variety of school and community improvement projects this year. Seven new communities will participate in 1995.

Capitol Focus is supported by a growing consortium of professional associations and corporations who share its concerns for building a more educated and active youth by providing contributions for general support. We are pleased to welcome new sponsor State Farm Insurance. Individuals, Legislators, and Organizations are also encouraged to participate by sponsoring a student or student group. For more information on sponsorship opportunities, the ROAST, or to register for programs, please contact:

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The Wilson Tax Cut

Good for the rich, but will the benefits trickle down?

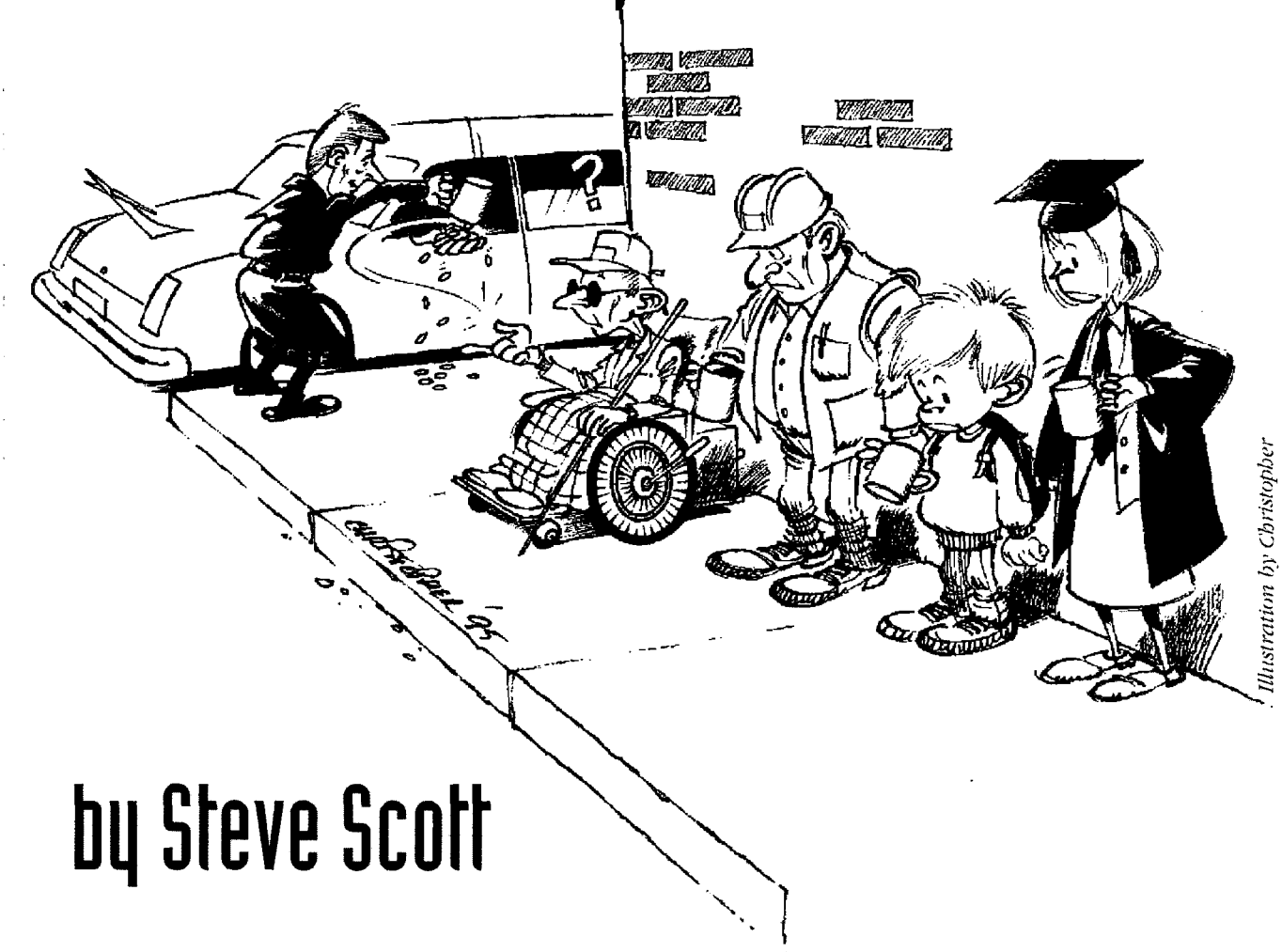

Illustration by Christopher

by Steve Scott

One of the rituals of the new year in statehouses all over the country is the annual state of the state message. So far, all but a handful of governors have delivered their annual messages, as has President Bill Clinton, who opined on the state of the union. A cursory examination of these speeches reveals a phenomenon sweeping the country faster than a flu epidemic.

It's called "Whitman Envy."

Whitman Envy is characterized by a rush on the part of governors from both parties to find

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ways to cut state taxes. It is named for Christine Todd Whitman, the New Jersey Republican who entered office last year and promptly began making good on a promise to cut state income taxes by 15 percent. Nearly every governor who has addressed his or her legislature to date has proposed some form of tax relief. Ideas range from modest fee cuts to, in some cases, complete elimination of certain types of taxes.

If there's one governor who's got a bad case of Whitman Envy, it's Pete Wilson. Four years ago, facing a monstrous $14 billion budget gap, Wilson pushed through the largest tax increase in the history of this, or any other, state — $7 billion. Now, with his state's economy on the mend and a remarkable re-election victory under his belt, Wilson has offered a virtual carbon-copy of Whitman's three-year, 15 percent income-tax cut.

"Death and taxes may be inevitable, but not taxes as high as California's," said the governor, in his January 9th State of the State address. "What is inevitable is that California taxes will be death to California jobs, unless we lower them."

Wilson's definition of California as a "high-tax state" is key to his rationale for a tax cut. Most aggregations of the total tax burden for Californians put the state squarely in the upper tier. According to the California Taxpayers Association (CalTax), the total state and local tax and fee burden per person in California is $2964 — 11th in the nation. According to a recent rundown in *Money* magazine, California ranks 14th in total tax burden for a family of four making about $80,000 a year. The most generous assessment of the state's aggregate tax burden — per $1000 of personal income — still places the state 22nd, below many neighboring states but still above the national average.

"Except for property taxes, everywhere else we're in the top 10," says Joel Fox, president of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association. "Everyone's got their own category, but the preponderance of the evidence is that California is a high tax state."

While the aggregate tax burden may seem steep, a different story emerges when the tax burden is considered as a function of who is paying which taxes. California's very high bank and corporation taxes are only paid by, well, banks and corporations — not individuals. Most local fees and assessments are made against business and development, for licensing, school construction, and so forth. Add to that an income-tax system that is, by design, the most progressive in the nation, and a new dynamic emerges. Married joint-filers making $50,000, according to *Money*, pay only $722 in state income taxes, the second lowest among the 43 states with an income tax, trailing only North Dakota. Unlike other states, Californians also pay no local income tax, and property tax rates have been held down by Proposition 13. On the other hand, those making above $60,000 get hit with what was the top rate, 9.3 percent. Those making above $430,000 pay the

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April 28	**Bill Tracking and Analysis**

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current top rate of 11 percent, the second highest in the nation. Since most taxpayers fall within the lower-to-middle income range, some argue that California is, in the main, a good deal tax-wise.

"It just isn't accurate to say California is a 'high-tax state,'" insists Lenny Goldberg, director of the California Tax Reform Association. "It's not worth repeating in respectable company."

While the current tax system may not benefit the wealthy, the governor's tax proposal does very well by them. By 1998 the aggregate tax saving will be almost 50 times larger for those making $500,000 as those making $40,000 (see chart). The wealthy win even when the cut is taken as a percentage of adjusted gross income. The 1998 break for those making $250,000 represents almost 1 percent of their income. For those making $40,000, it is barely a third of that.

Recognizing the potential for their proposal to be characterized as a windfall for the wealthy, Wilson and his supporters are basing the case for tax relief not on fairness, but rather on competitiveness. The initial proposal was developed by an economic competitiveness task force, chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz. In arguing for the cut, the task force report promised that a tax cut would help keep the state's current economic recovery going and send a message to the state's fiercely-competitive neighbor states that California is "open for business."

Wilson Tax Cut Effect on Taxpayers

(Married with 2 Children, Filing Jointly)

1996-1998

Adjusted Gross Income	1996	1997	1998
$20,000	$0	$0	$0
$40,000	$34	$66	$96
$60,000	$74	$142	$206
$80,000	$130	$252	$365
$100,000	$210	$407	$593
$150,000	$410	$807	$1,193
$200,000	$628	$1,244	$1,849
$250,000	$826	$1,639	$2,441
$500,000	$384	$2,562	$4,666
$1,000,000	($5,078)	($175)	$4,673

Note: 1996-97 reflect extension of 11% top rate for taxpayers above $500,000
Source: Legislative Analyst

Business leaders immediately embraced the plan, particularly its inclusion of a reduction in the bank and corporation tax. "A 15 percent reduction in rates will clearly attract investment," said Cal-Tax President Larry McCarthy. "It will send a tremendous signal about California's willingness and interest in seeing additional investment in California." McCarthy defends the top-heavy nature of the tax windfall, insisting that the people who will get the most benefit are the ones most likely to plough that money back into growing the economy.

"These individuals will have capacity to make more investment in the state," says McCarthy. "These are the people that are important to California's economic future."

Democratic lawmakers in both houses argue that any tax cut should be geared toward those who were forced to pay out more during the lean times during the recession. "Wilson supported 16 major tax increases over the last four years," notes Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward). "It seems to me we should repeal some of those tax increases before we give a new tax break to the wealthiest people in the state of California." Lockyer and Senator Mike Thompson (D-Helena) have introduced an alternative to Wilson's plan which, instead of rolling back rates, increases the dependent exemption and lowers the alternative minimum tax, paid by middle- and upper-income taxpayers. The Democrats also propose restoration of the renter's tax credit and rolling back of higher education student fees, which Lockyer characterizes as a hidden tax on the middle class. The Democrats get some heavily-qualified reassurance from one of Wilson's allies on this point. While he is openly skeptical that Lockyer is doing anything more than political posturing, Joel Fox of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association says he'd like to see a slightly broader tax cut.

"If I were king ... I might have included everybody, gotten some sales tax involved," says Fox. "If they put that proposal on the table, I think it should be looked at ... if they're serious."

Critics also question the actual effect this type of tax cut could have on the economy. Even the staunchest supporters of the reduction concede the actual direct stimulus to consumption is moderate, and some on the outside say even that is generous. "You're lucky if you recover a few percent back on what you've spent," says Goldberg. "These supply side notions are just laughable." In addition to dismissing any direct effect on the economy, critics also contend the tax cut may do little, if anything, to improve California's competitive economic position *vis-a-vis* other states.

"You cannot assess the impact of one piece of a budgetary decision in isolation," says Steven Levy, director of the Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy. "Business attraction decisions depend on both the tax and expenditure sides. You can't in practice make decisions on the tax side alone."

Levy argues the tax cut should be viewed as much in terms of what is given up as what is gotten. Wilson's 1995-96 budget cuts far more than it gives back in tax breaks, with most of the reductions centered in health and welfare. In fact, the entire tax cut for this year is paid for with a single cut — a 10 percent reduction in relief payments for the aged, blind, and disabled (SSI/SSP). Outside of a hefty increase in corrections, however, the budget offers only modest growth

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in education spending and no new money for highway construction beyond earthquake retrofit. Moreover, at least one projection suggests that, over its three-year life span, the tax cut will mean $3.7 billion less for K-12 education than would otherwise have been provided under the spending formula in 1988's Proposition 98. Levy says boosting investment in these areas could have as great, if not greater, impact on business location decisions than simply tweaking the tax code.

"In a family sense, if you've gone four years, and bypassed medical care, haven't fixed the roof, then you get a windfall, do you use it to pay back the cuts from previous years, or do you take a quarter of it and go to the Caribbean?" he asks.

Defenders of Wilson's plan say improved investment is accounted for in Wilson's blueprint. The Schultz commission report suggests that although as much as $30 billion in additional revenue will be coming in, only about $7.6 billion will be used for a tax cut. The rest is proposed to go to education and additional government spending. "The governor's not even saying all of it should come back," notes Fox. "He's keeping three-quarters of it." Cal-Tax's Larry McCarthy also argues that the current investment could go farther if money were spent more wisely.

"We need to be managing these public resources better than we do," says McCarthy. "That means getting more dollars into classrooms rather than being spilled on the way to the classroom."

Looming above the discussion of the specifics of the tax cut stands the ever-present specter of 1996. Wilson spent the better part of two weeks in Washington, D.C., after returning from vacation in Portugal, and everywhere he went, the subject of a presidential run was raised. While his stunning victory over Kathleen Brown in last year's gubernatorial race makes him an attractive presidential candidate in theory, Wilson has one huge blot on his resume: the $7 billion tax cut he signed in 1991. Political analyst Sherry Bebitch-Jeffe says a corresponding tax cut is "mandatory" if Wilson is to demonstrate to GOP conservatives that he's a "recovering moderate."

"[The right] won't even look at him without some signal that he understands he was wrong, and is making amends," says Bebitch-Jeffe.

Recognizing a potential vulnerability, Democrats have already hinted they will make it as tough as possible for Wilson to get his particular tax-cut proposal. However, Democrats were chastened by an angry electorate in 1994, and those who occupy marginal districts will likely press for some kind of tax cut to shore themselves up politically. If Wilson is willing to deal, he may yet be sent a tax cut bill big enough to help any prospective presidential bid. If he decides to hold firm, however, he'll have to motivate the public in order to avoid a long hot budget summer.

"The governor cannot rely on the business community alone to get this passed," says Fox. "He'll have to get some help from the grass roots."

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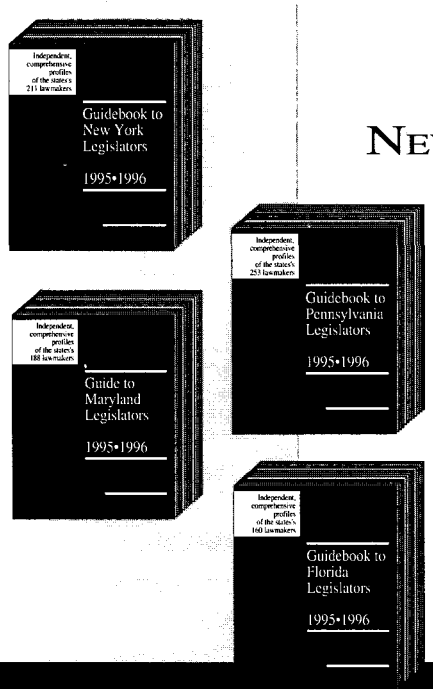
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Reshaping Health Care in America

Dr. Walter Broadnax, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, delivered the keynote address at the 1993 California Public Affairs Forum.

Searching for a Cure

Dismayed by skyrocketing costs and a lack of universal coverage, Americans have made reforming their health care system a top priority. But achieving consensus on a plan of reform is not easy.

That's why the California Public Affairs Forum recently convened a panel of experts to study this issue. The forum is a biennial event sponsored jointly by the California Chamber of Commerce, the Bay Area Council, Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce and Hitachi, Ltd. Its purpose is to provide a forum for discussion of important issues facing California and the nation. Begun in 1987, the forums have examined state transportation problems, the jobs/housing balance, air quality control, and education reform.

No one on the panel questioned the need for health care reform. "The medical treatment that people in this country get is probably the best in the world. But it costs too much and anywhere from 34 to 37 million of us are not covered," said John Palmer, White House correspondent for Christian Science Monitor radio.

"We have in this country a moral imperative to secure health care for everyone," said Dr. Paul F. Griner, president of the American College of Physicians.

Dr. Griner and the other panelists agree that a national health care system is key to controlling runaway health care costs and eliminating the inequities in the current system. They are optimistic that the U.S. will ultimately adopt such a plan.

Fueling the panel's optimism are signs that many Americans are changing their attitudes about health care. "Health care reform has already begun in this country," said Ms. Julia Thomas, president and CEO of Bobrow / Thomas and Associates, an architectural firm that specializes in health care facilities design. "We've seen a huge move toward managed care, preventive care, and a more educated consumer."

"Health care reform is of great interest to us," said Yoshiro Kuwata, a director of Hitachi. "As an employer of more than 16,000 Americans, we are bound to feel the impact of any change in the nation's health care system."

Dr. Paul F. Griner, president of the American College of Physicians

We at Hitachi share the panel's optimism about the future of health care in the U.S. We are proud to play a role in providing a forum for discussion of issues facing us all.

To obtain copies of the speakers' presentations, please write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

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Bringing Competition To The Electric Supply Industry

Californians for Competitive Electricity (CCE) – which represents independent power producers, large industrial companies, food processors and our state's agricultural concerns – and Pacific Gas and Electric Company have joined forces to move electric restructuring forward in California by promoting competition and customer choice in the electric industry.

The restructuring effort was begun by the California Public Utilities Commission in April 1994, when it announced its intention to give customers direct access to their choice of electric generating resources. We strongly support the Commission's necessary and timely work on this matter, as well as consideration of this critical issue at our State Capitol in Sacramento.

The CCE and PG&E, in support of the Commission's proposal, have agreed on a set of objectives and principles to make competition in electric supply a success for all customers. These objectives, which are printed on the facing page, encourage prompt and well-managed implementation of customer choice of suppliers to promote lower prices through direct access. This cooperative effort is founded on the mutual belief that all Californians will benefit from encouraging competitive electricity supplies.

The principles underscore the commitment to guaranteeing safety and reliability so that service for all customers is seamless during the transition to competition. The principles also commit to the continuation of environmental and social programs. Such programs benefit all Californians and their costs should be shared fairly among all customers regardless of their choice of supply.

Equally important is the guarantee that all customers share in the costs of moving to a more competitive world. The best way to insure that transition costs do not confound the goals of restructuring is an appropriate schedule for phasing in competition.

CCE and PG&E believe that all of these principles can be honored, while we all continue to move forward on this important issue. We encourage all Californians to participate in the discussion of electric industry restructuring in all of our State policy-making forums.

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Objectives To Guide Electric Industry Restructuring

Encourage vigorous and fair competition in electric supply to provide customers choice, and to promote lower prices for all customers through direct access.

- Direct access should begin January 1, 1996, or as soon thereafter as regulatory approvals are secured.
- Direct access implementation should be carefully managed to ensure that all customer groups and interests are fully and fairly treated, to develop the technical and market institutions necessary to permit expansion of direct access to larger and larger numbers of customers, and to provide adequate time to minimize transitions costs.
- Market mechanisms including the need for additional power pools should not be predetermined, but allowed to develop to fill market needs.

Preserve the safety and reliability of California's electric supply and distribution system, and assure that all Californians continue to have nondiscriminatory access to a full range of electrical services at competitive prices.

Guarantee that all customers continue to bear their fair share of costs of the utility services, including the appropriate ratepayer's share of the costs of the transition to direct access, and that their share of costs does not increase due to the introduction of customer choice.

- The current cost allocations, based on Equal Percentage of Marginal Cost (EPMC), are generally recognized as correct and fair, and should be retained.
- The recovery of transition costs may be achieved through an appropriate schedule for phasing-in direct access, through transition cost charges (regardless of whether customers purchase generation from a utility or from an independent power supplier), or a combination thereof.

Continue social and cost effective environmental policies which provide direct benefits to customers and assure that their costs are fairly shared.

- The recovery of these costs should be shared equitably among customers, regardless of whether they purchase generation from a utility or an independent supplier.

Assure that the financial integrity of California utilities is maintained.

An integral part of industry restructuring is the development of a new regulatory model which streamlines and simplifies the regulatory process, including greater use of market benchmarks in place of traditional cost-of-service regulations.

The sanctity of existing contracts and agreements must be recognized.

Pacific Gas and Electric Company

Californians for Competitive Electricity

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Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

Winners and losers

Politics is about winning and losing. And most of the time, that's okay. As a way of settling disagreements without resorting to bloodshed, it works pretty well. Sometimes, though, it creates problems. For one thing, the people we elect to office are undeniably good at one thing: winning elective office. Alas, that may only have a remote relationship to another reason we grant them public office: We expect them to govern. When governing becomes tough, they tend to fall back on their more natural skills; figuring out who won and who lost and trying to make sure they are the winners.

The recent unpleasantness in the Assembly is a good example.

Republican leader Jim Brulte proved in the last election that he could win. Sure, he had a lot of help from a Republican tide, reapportionment and a feeling on the part of the electorate that it was time to get rid of the old crop of rascals. Still, Brulte made the most of the situation and was entitled to do a little crowing when 41 Republicans won on Election Day.

But Brulte, who's had just two terms in the Assembly, hasn't had enough time to learn to govern. He and his fellow Republicans skipped past one of the cardinal rules: embrace your enemies because next time you may want them to be your friends. They ignored a couple of others along the way: Count your votes and always have a couple of extra votes, just in case of surprises.

When Speaker Willie Brown Jr. two years ago spurned the GOP caucus choice for vice chairman of Ways and Means and instead named Republican Paul Horcher to the post, the caucus under Brulte's leadership turned on Horcher. They treated him badly, and the prickly Horcher did not forget it. He waited for his opportunity to get revenge but could not have expected it to come in such a spectacular style — denying Brulte the 41st vote he needed to become the first Republican speaker in 25 years.

Republicans were outraged. After all, they had won, or so they thought, and after so many years under Democratic thumbs, their desire for power — and revenge — was understandable. Although they had learned how to win, they couldn't turn that into the ability to govern. They were outmaneuvered every step of the way by the most experienced member of the Assembly — Willie Brown.

Republicans also pinned their hopes on Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia. Through a quirk of election law, Mountjoy had been elected to both the Senate and the Assembly on Election Day. Mountjoy, of course, had led his constituents to believe he really planned to be in the Senate. He could have been sworn into the Senate within a few weeks of the election, before the Legislature was scheduled to start its 1995 session. And that's what the likes of Democrat Pat Johnston have done when they, too, ended up in the same situation. But when the election results became known, Mountjoy said he planned to hang around the Assembly long enough to make sure Brulte was chosen as speaker. It was a dishonest act. Mountjoy had no intention of staying in the Assembly, and if he really felt that strongly about it, he could have given up his Senate seat and stayed put. Dishonest it may have been, but it was not illegal. Still, it was a bit of duplicity Democrats would use to gain at least a temporary upper hand by throwing Mountjoy out of the Assembly.

Indeed, perhaps the most impressive trick pulled by Brown during this period was to convince his own caucus that they were justified in expelling Mountjoy. It's a position that he apparently had trouble selling at first. The legal basis for giving Mountjoy the boot is thin, resting on the fact that the Assembly can judge the qualifications of its own members.

But even if a legal case can be made — and that is dubious — the moral case doesn't hold up. If there is one rule that has to be obeyed in the democratic system, it's that the person who is elected to office gets to serve. Only the most egregious crimes are grounds for expulsion. And Mountjoy, as obnoxious or as frustrating he is, committed no such crime.

In the end, Speaker Brown convinced every member of his caucus that inconvenience was crime enough. Maybe we should be thankful for our rich traditions. In other places, Mountjoy would have been taken out and shot. Still, the Democrats' action was the closest the state has come to a coup d'etat since the Bear Flag revolt.

But perhaps the most depressing part of the whole affair is that this type of internecine warfare is likely to become the rule, rather than the exception. Republicans have launched a recall against Horcher that will probably succeed even though switching parties previously has not been considered an act worthy of removal from office. Recalls of other Democrats, whose only crime was supporting their own party, are in the works, raising the unpleasant prospect that this tool might become the norm instead of the exception.

Matters, of course, are made worse by term limits. Jim Brulte, had he become speaker, would have been a lame duck. He's already made it clear that he plans to run for the Senate in two years. Maneuvering would have started right away to replace him. Indeed, it probably has, even though Brulte has yet to claim the prize. Under such circumstances, it's doubtful that Brulte would have ever really had the chance to learn if he could be a leader on policy as well as on politics.

It's likely that the turmoil will persist. And that's too bad because the state Assembly, once the paragon of state legislative bodies, will likely return to a status much more like what it was in the 1950s — a second-rate house where special interests and lobbyists hold sway and legislators bide their time until they can advance. It's a shame, because all this squabbling is over a prize that may no longer worth having. The next speaker of the Assembly, be it a Democrat or a Republican, will never exercise the power once held by Willie Brown. Future speakers will have to share power, either with the members of his or her own party, or, if the Legislature remains closely divided, with both parties. If they can learn to share, if victory doesn't have to be total, then perhaps the Assembly can develop a new culture that will permit them to govern.

— Richard Zeiger

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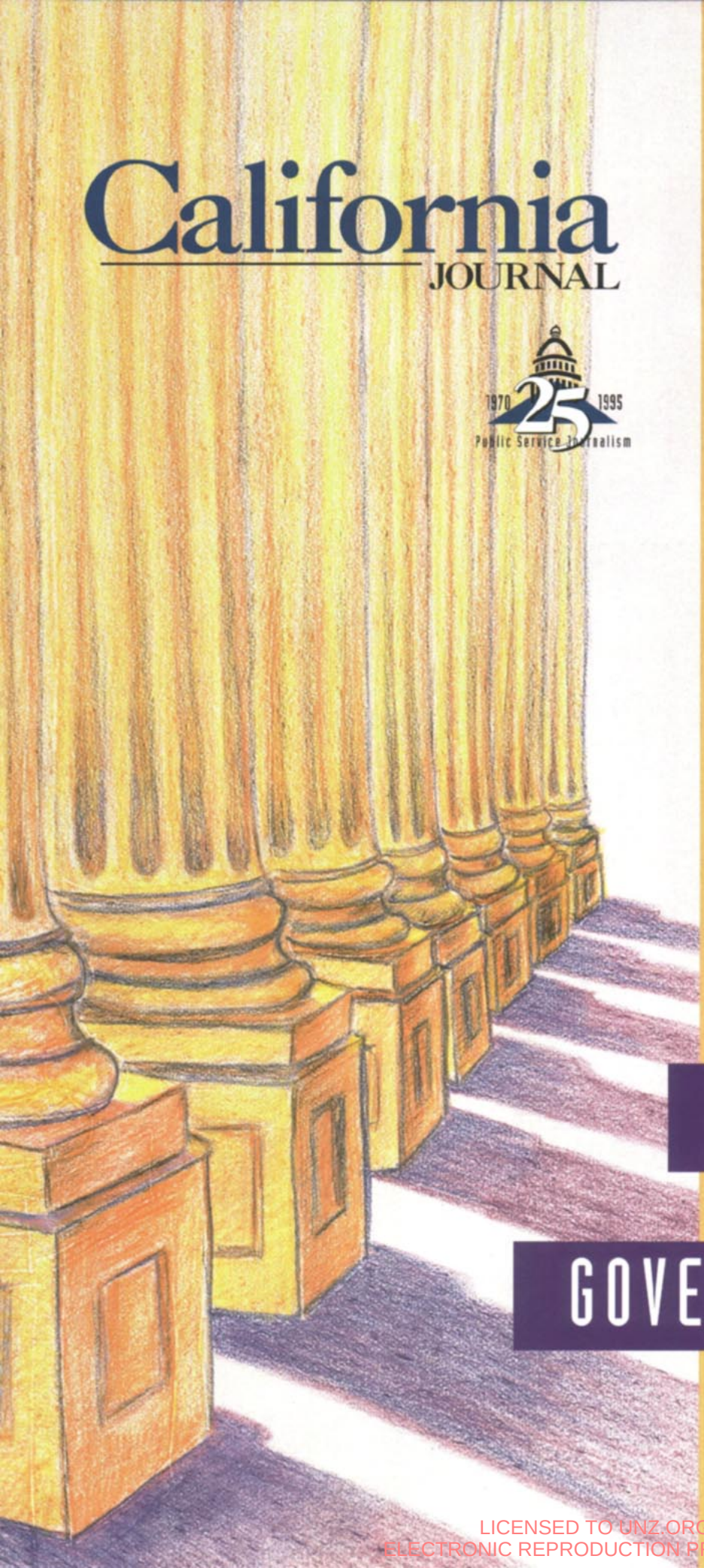

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Chair: Kathleen Connell
Exec Off: Gerald H. Goldberg
Box 1468
Sacramento 95812-1468 369-4543
Fax: 369-3191

Department of General Services
Dir: John Lockwood
1325 J St #1910
Sacramento 95814-2928 445-4145
Fax: 323-6567

(Continued on page 6)

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California Museum of Science and Industry
Exec Dir: Jeffrey N. Rudolph
700 State Dr
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State Personnel Board
Exec Off: Gloria Harmon
801 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814 653-1028
Fax: 653-0927

Public Employees Retirement System
Board Pres: William D. Crist
Exec Off: Jim Burton
400 P St
Sacramento 95814 326-3829
Fax: 324-3410

State Teachers Retirement System
CEO: James Mosman
7667 Folsom Blvd
Sacramento 95826 387-3700
Fax: 387-3704

TRADE AND COMMERCE AGENCY

Wright

Agency Secy: Julie Meier Wright
801 K St #1700
Sacramento 95814 322-1394
Fax: 322-3524

California Film Commission
Dir: Patti Stolkin Archuletta
6922 Hollywood Blvd #600
Hollywood 90028 (213) 736-2465
Fax: (213) 736-2522

California Division of Tourism
Dir: John Poimiroo
801 K St #1600
Sacramento 95814 322-2881
Fax: 322-3402

World Trade Commission
Act Exec Dir: Brenda Lopes
801 K St #1700
Sacramento 95814-3520 324-5511
Fax: 324-5791

YOUTH AND ADULT CORRECTIONAL AGENCY

Sandoval

Agency Secy: Joe Sandoval
1100 11th St #400
Sacramento 95814 323-6001
Fax: 442-2637

Board of Corrections
Exec Off: Thomas E. McConnell
600 Bercut Dr
Sacramento 95814 445-5073
Fax: 327-3317

Department of Corrections
Dir: James H. Gomez
1515 S St #351
Sacramento 95814 445-7688
Fax: 322-2877

Board of Prison Terms
Chmn: James W. Nielsen
Exec Off: Theodore R. Rich
428 J St 6th Flr
Sacramento 95814 322-6366
Fax: 445-5242

Youth Authority
Dir: Vacant
4241 Williamsbourgh Dr
Sacramento 95823 262-1480
Fax: 262-1483

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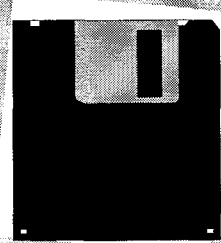

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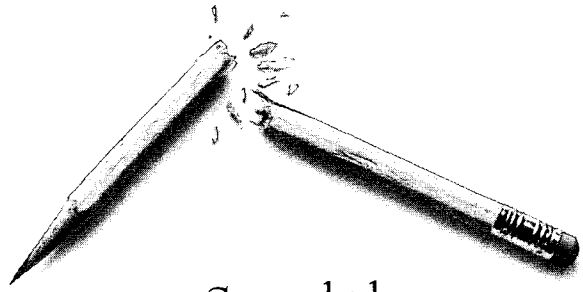

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Exec Off: Carol Sigmann
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Fax: 263-3674

Aging, Commission on
Chair: Raymond C. Mastalish
Act Exec Dir: Johnna Meyer
1020 9th St #260
Sacramento 95814 322-5630
Fax: 327-1859

Agricultural Labor Relations Board
Chair: Bruce J. Janigian
Gen Cnsl: Donald S. Pressley
915 Capitol Mall 3rd Flr
Sacramento 95814 653-3741
Fax: 653-2743

Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board
Chair: Edward M. Davis
Chf Cnsl: William B. Eley
1001 6th St #401
Sacramento 95814 445-4005
Fax: 323-2760

State Allocation Board
Chair: Russell Gould
Exec Off: Oscar Wright
501 J St #350
Sacramento 95814 445-3377
Fax: 324-0623

Architectural Examiners, Board of
Exec Off: Stephen P. Sands
400 R St #4000
Sacramento 95814-6238 445-3394
Fax: 445-8524

State Athletic Commission
Chair: Bill Eastman
Exec Off: Richard DeCuir
1424 Howe Ave #33
Sacramento 95825-3217 263-2195
Fax: 263-2197

Automotive Repair, Bureau of
Chief: James Richard Schoning
400 R St #3000
Sacramento 95814 445-7964
Fax: 324-4298

Barbering and Cosmetology, Board of
Exec Off: Olivia S. Guebara
400 R St #4080
Sacramento 95814 445-7061
Fax: 445-8893

Behavioral Science Examiners,Board of
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Interim Exec Off: Scott Syphax
400 R St #3150
Sacramento 95814-6240 445-4933

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Chair: Michael R. Flanigan
1629 S St
Sacramento 95814-7291 445-6281
Fax: 327-7250

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Chan: Barry Munitz
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Sacramento 95833 263-2660

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Exec Dir: Vivian R. Davis
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Sacramento 95816-5354 227-2790
Fax: 227-2798

Guide Dogs for the Blind, Board of
Pres: Henry Thomas
830 K St #222
Sacramento 95814 445-9041

Contractors State License Board
Chair: Mr. Robert Laurie
9835 Goethe Rd
Sacramento 95827 255-3900

Control, State Board of
Chair: John Lockwood
630 K St
Sacramento 95814 445-1541
Fax: 327-2933

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Chair: Teri Jackson
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Sacramento 95833 263-3660

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1432 Howe Ave #85
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Fax: 263-2140

Developmental Disabilities, State Council on
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Fax: 443-4957

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Sacramento 95814 657-5478
Fax: 653-7016

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Fax: (916) 324-3984

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Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
13200 Crossroads Pky N450
City of Industry 91746
(310) 908-5280
Fax: (310) 908-5183

District 3
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110 West C St #1709
San Diego 92101-3909
(619) 237-7844
Fax: (310) 237-7229

District 4
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Santa Monica 90401-1856
(310) 451-5777
Fax: (310) 458-9088

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Chair: Jack Coffey
Gen Mgr: Norbert J. Bartosik
1600 Exposition Blvd
Sacramento 95815 263-3000
Fax: 263-3304

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Chair: Ravinder Mehta
Exec Dir: Vacant
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Sacramento 95814 322-5901
Fax: 327-2026

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1416 9th St Box 944209
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Fax: 653-1856

Food and Agriculture, State Board of
Pres: John H. Kautz
Exec Off: Peter M. Rooney
1220 N St #409
Sacramento 95814 654-0855

California Forest Products Commission
Pres: Carol Crow
2150 River Plaza Dr #270
Sacramento 95833 568-1141
Fax: 568-1144

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2535 Capitol Oaks #300A
Sacramento 95833 263-3180

Geologists and Geophysicists, Board of Registration for
Exec Off: Dalton Pollard
400 R St #4060
Sacramento 95814 445-1920

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Exec Dir: Roy C. Wood Jr.
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Sacramento 95825 263-6000
Fax: 263-6042

Industrial Welfare Commission
Chair: James Rude
Exec Off: Karla M. Reyff
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San Francisco 94142-0603 (415) 703-3820

Landscape Architects, Board of
Exec Off: Jeanne Brode
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Fax: 324-2333

State Library
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Sacramento 95814 654-0174

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Interim Dir: Del Pierce
600 N 10th St
Sacramento 95814 323-0400
Fax: 323-7087

State Mandates, Commission on
Chair: Theresa Parker
Interim Exec Dir: Shelley Mateo
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Sacramento 95814 323-3562

California Maritime Academy
Pres: Mary E. Lyons, Ph.D.
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Vallejo 94590 (707) 648-4200
Fax: (707) 648-4204

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Chair: Dr. Albert L. Anderson
Exec Dir: Byron Chell
1121 L St #300
Sacramento 95814 324-2726
Fax: 324-5597

Medical Board of California
Pres: Dr. Robert del Junco
Exec Dir: Dixon Arnett
1426 Howe Ave #54
Sacramento 95825 263-2499
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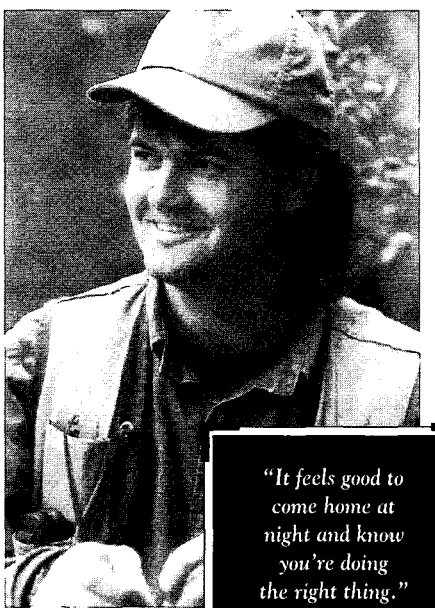

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400 R St #3130
Sacramento 95814-6200 323-8720

Osteopathic Medical Board of California
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Exec Dir: Linda J. Bergmann
444 N 3rd St #A-200
Sacramento 95814 322-4306
Fax: 327-6119

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Secy: Lorraine Lima
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Sacramento 95814 653-0524
Fax: 657-3903

Pharmacy, Board of
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Exec Off: Patricia F. Harris
400 R St #4070
Sacramento 95814 445-5014
Fax: 327-6308

Podiatric Medicine, Board of
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Exec Off: Jim Rathlesberger
1420 Howe Ave #8
Sacramento 95825-3229 263-2647

Postsecondary Education Commission
Chair: Henry Der
Exec Dir: Warren Halsey Fox
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Sacramento 95814-2938 445-7933
Fax: 327-4417

Prison Industry Authority
Gen Mgr: David King
560 E Natoma St
Folsom 95630-2200 355-0170
Fax: 355-0247

Private Postsecondary and Vocational Education, Council for
Chmn: Frank R. Martinez
Exec Dir: Kenneth A. Miller
1027 10th St 4th Flr
Sacramento 95814-3517 445-3427
Fax: 323-6571

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Pres: William D. Crist
CEO: James E. Burton
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Sacramento 95814 326-3000
Fax: 326-3410

Public Employment Relations Board
Chair: Sue Blair
1031 18th St
Sacramento 95814 322-3198
Fax: 327-7955

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Exec Dir: Neal J. Shulman
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San Francisco 94102 (415) 703-1282
Fax: (415) 703-1758

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Gen Mgr: Raymond E. Barsch
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Sacramento 95814-5509 653-5434
Fax: 653-9745

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Sacramento 95814 322-3350

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Exec Dir: L. Thomas Tobin
1900 K St #100
Sacramento 95814 322-4917
Fax: 322-9476

State Govt Org. & Economy (Little Hoover Comm.), Milton Marks Comm. on
Chair: Richard Terzian
Exec Dir: Jeannine English
660 J St #260
Sacramento 95814 445-2125
Fax: 322-7709

State Lands Commission
Chair: Gray Davis
Exec Off: Robert C. Hight
1807 13th St
Sacramento 95814 322-7777
Fax: 322-3568

Status of Women, Commission on the
Chmn: Lily Balian
Exec Dir: Pat Towner
1303 J St #400
Sacramento 95814 445-3173
Fax: 322-9466

Student Aid Commission
Chair: Maridel Moulton
Exec Dir: Samuel M. Kipp III
Box 510845
Sacramento 94245-0845 322-1904
Fax: 323-4483

Teacher Credentialing, Commission on
Chair: Verna B. Dauterive
Exec Dir: Philip A. Fitch
1812 9th St
Sacramento 95814 445-0184
Fax: 327-3166

Transportation Commission
Chair: Jerry B. Epstein
Exec Dir: Robert I. Remen
1120 N St #2221
Sacramento 95814 654-4245
Fax: 653-2134

Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board
Chair: Robert Harvey
2400 Venture Oaks #300
Sacramento 95833 263-6783
Fax: 263-6836

University of California
Chair, Board of Regents: Howard H. Leach
President: Jack W. Peltason
300 Lakeside Dr
Oakland 94612-3550 (510) 987-0700
Fax: (510) 987-9086

Water Commission, California
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Exec Off: Raymond Barsch
1416 9th St #1104-4
Sacramento 95814 653-5958
Fax: 653-9745

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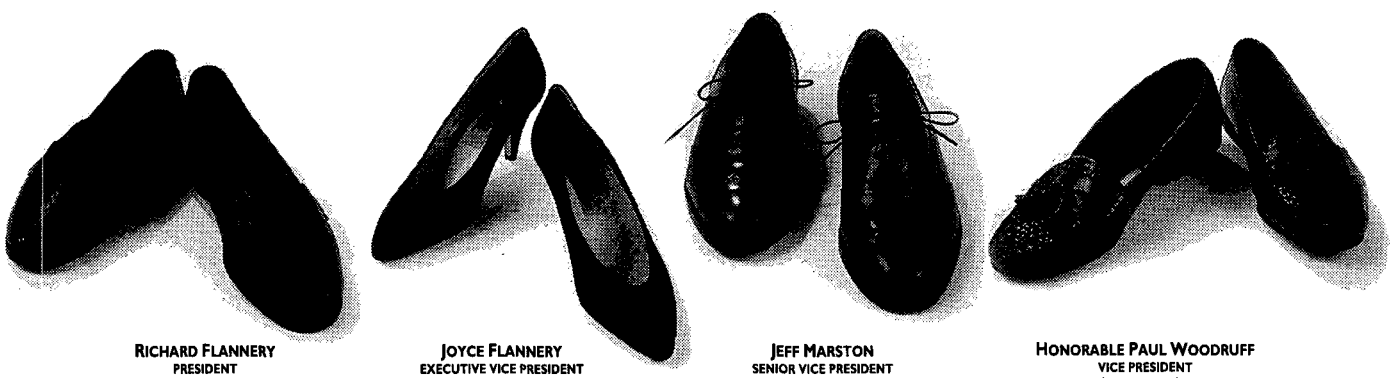

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Speaker pro Tempore: ..... Vacant
Democratic Floor Leader: ..... Tom Hannigan (D)
Republican Floor Leader: ..... Jim Brulte (R)
Republican Whip: ..... Jim Battin (R)
Republican Whip: ..... Steven Kuykendall (R)
Republican Whip: ..... Brian Setencich (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: ..... Vacant

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Term Limit: 1998
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Fax: 445-0385
COS: Jim Richardson
304 West F St
Ontario 91762 (909) 984-7741
Fax: (909) 984-6695
AA: Carolyn Owens

Barbara Alby (R-5)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #2160 445-4445
Fax: 323-9411
AA: Sandra Felley
4811 Chippendale Dr #501
Sacramento 95841 349-1995
Fax: 349-1999
AA: Ken Bell

Doris Allen (R-67)
Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4153 445-6233
Fax: 445-2751
Leg Aide: Marc Burgat
16052 Beach Blvd #160
Huntington Beach 92647
(714) 843-9855
Fax: (714) 843-6375
Field Rep: Kellie Martin

Deirdre "Dede" Alpert (D-78)
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Fax: 445-4001
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San Diego 92101 (619) 234-7878
Fax: (619) 233-0078
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Marguerite Archie-Hudson (D-48)
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Term Limit: 1996
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Fax: 323-9640
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Los Angeles 90037 (213) 745-6656
Fax: (213) 745-6722
AA: Karen Earl

Joe Baca (D-62)
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San Bernardino 92401
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Fax: (909) 888-5959
Chf AA: Pete R. Luna

Steve Baldwin (R-77)
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Term Limit: 2000
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Fax: 323-8470
Leg Asst: Valory Brown
9584 Murray Dr
La Mesa 91942 (619) 465-7723
Fax: (619) 465-7765
COS: Tammy Johnson

Tom Bates (D-14)
Elected: 1976
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3120 445-7554
Fax: 445-6434
Chf Cnslt: Sherry Novick
3923 Grand Ave
Oakland 94610-1005
(510) 428-1423
Fax: (510) 428-1599
Leg Aide: Terry Rabb

Jim Battin (R-80)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2179 445-5416
Fax: 323-5190
Leg Asst: Deborah Welp
73-710 Fred Waring Dr
Palm Desert 92260 (619) 568-0408
Fax: (619) 568-1501
COS: Chris Brown

Paula Boland (R-38)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3098 445-8366
Fax: 322-2005
Schd Sec: Pamela Loomis
10727 White Oak #124
Granada Hills 91344
(818) 368-3838
Fax: (818) 885-3307
COS: Scott Wilk

Tom J. Bordonaro Jr. (R-33)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #3141 445-7795
Fax: 324-5510
Leg Aide: JoElla Cudney
1060 Palm St
San Luis Obispo 93401
(805) 549-3381
Fax: (805) 549-3400
AA: Bill Winters

Debra Bowen (D-53)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #3126 445-8528
Fax: 327-2201
COS: Evan Goldberg
18411 Crenshaw Blvd #280
Torrance 90504 (310) 523-4831
Fax: (310) 523-4972
AA: Arlene Pinzler

Larry Bowler (R-10)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #3147 445-7402
Fax: 324-0013
Leg Asst: Brian Rees
10370 Old Placerville Rd #106
Sacramento 95827 362-4161
Fax: 362-4164
COS: Don Ediger

Marilyn C. Brewer (R-70)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5135 445-7222
Fax: 324-3657
AA: Flo Hernandez
18952 MacArthur Blvd #220
Irvine 92715 (714) 863-7070
Fax: (714) 863-9337
COS: Kate Keena

Valerie Brown (D-7)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2130 445-8492
Fax: 322-0674
COS: John Latimer
50 D St #301
Santa Rosa 95404 (707) 546-4500
Fax: (707) 546-9031
Field Rep: Suzanne Wilford

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Elected: 1964
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #219 445-8077
Fax: 445-4189
COS: Michael Galizio
455 Golden Gate Ave #2220
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0784
Fax: (415) 557-8936
Chf Asst: Victoria Jee

Jim Brulte (R-63)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #323 445-8490
Fax: 323-8544
COS: Bishop Bastien
10681 Foothill Blvd #325
Rancho Cucamonga 91730
(909) 466-9096
Fax: (909) 466-9892
AA: John Bressler

John Burton (D-12)
Elected: 1988
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3152 445-8253
Fax: 324-4899
Sr Asst/Scheduler: Linda Yip
455 Golden Gate Ave #2202
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-2253
Fax: (415) 557-2592
District Mgr: Melanie Blum

Cruz M. Bustamante (D-31)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2188 445-8514
Fax: 324-7129
Staff Dir: Dan Eaton
2550 Mariposa #5006
Fresno 93721 (209) 445-5532
Fax: (209) 445-6006
Field Rep: Kathryn Eide

Louis Caldera (D-46)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2148 445-4843
COS: Jim Gelb
304 S Broadway St #580
Los Angeles 90013 (213) 680-4646
Fax: (213) 680-1851
Dist Dir: Jeri Okamoto

Robert Campbell (D-11)
Elected: 1980
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #2163 445-7890
Fax: 327-2999
Chf CO: Bettina Redway
815 Estudillo St
Martinez 94553 (510) 372-7990
Fax: (510) 372-0934
COS: Maria Theresa Viramontes

Sal Cannella (D-26)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5155 445-8570
Fax: 445-8849
Sr Cnslt: Cori Ayala
384 E Olive Ave #2
Turlock 95380 (209) 669-6115
Fax: (209) 669-0349
COS: Chris Reardon

Mickey Conroy (R-71)
Elected: 1991
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4102 445-2778
Fax: 324-6872
COS: Pete Conaty
1940 N Tustin St #102
Orange 92665 (714) 998-0980
Fax: (714) 998-7102
Leg Aide: Jim Bieber

Dominic L. Cortese (D-23)
Elected: 1980
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #6031 445-8243
Fax: 323-8898
COS: Tom White
100 Paseo de San Antonio #300
San Jose 95113 (408) 269-6500
Fax: (408) 277-1036
Field Rep: Yvonne Camacho

Jim Cunneen (R-24)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4130 445-8305
Fax: 323-9989
COS: Robert L Hines
901 Campisi Wy #300
Campbell 95008 (408) 369-8170
Fax: (408) 369-8174
COS: Robert L Hines

Susan A. Davis (D-76)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5128 445-7210
Fax: 324-7895
Sr. Leg Aide: Kathy Dresslar
1080 University Ave #H201
San Diego 92103 (619) 294-7600
Fax: (619) 294-2348
COS: Jennifer Adams-Brooke

Denise Moreno Ducheny (D-79)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2170 445-7556
Fax: 322-2271
COS: Maria Alvarez
2414 Hoover Ave #A
National City 91950
(619) 477-7979
Fax: (619) 477-0207
Off Mgr: Lori Jones

Martha M. Escutia (D-50)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2137 445-8188
Fax: 324-0012
COS: Suzanne Wierbinski
3512 E Florence Ave #201
Huntington Park 90255
(213) 582-7774
Fax: (213) 582-4499
AA: Dolores Sanchez

Liz Figueroa (D-20)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #3013 445-7874
Fax: 324-2936
AA: Liz Fenton
39650 Liberty St #160
Fremont 94538 (510) 791-2151
Fax: (510) 794-3841
AA: Kelly Doyle

Brooks Firestone (R-35)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4116 445-8292
Fax: 327-3518
AA: Stacy A. Smith
809 Presidio Ave
Santa Barbara 93101
(805) 965-1994
Fax: (805) 965-2046
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Fax: 323-8459
Leg Dir: John Q. Young
13701 Riverside Dr #600
Sherman Oaks 91423
(818) 783-1976
Fax: (818) 783-2672
AA: Maria Whitaker

Peter Frusetta (R-28)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5175 445-7380
Fax: 324-0986
Cos: Jim Hallum
321 1st St #A
Hollister 95023 (408) 636-4890
Fax: (408) 636-4903
AA: Wendy Sarsfield

Martin Gallegos (D-57)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4117 445-7610
Fax: 327-9696
COS: Thomas Calderon
13177 Ramona Blvd Ste G
Irwindale 91706 (818) 338-9322
Fax: (818) 338-9283
COS: Tom Calderon

Jan Goldsmith (R-75)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2002 445-2484
Fax: 324-2782
Leg Asst: Bo Biller
12307 Oak Knoll Rd #A
Poway 92064 (619) 486-5191
Fax: (619) 486-3334
COS: Matthew Adams

Brett Granlund (R-65)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5164 445-7552
Fax: 445-7650
Leg Asst: Dean McEwen
34932 Yucaipa Blvd
Yucaipa 92399 (909) 790-4196
Fax: (909) 790-0479
COS: Jim Foster

Thomas Hannigan (D-8)
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Capitol Building #3104 445-8368
Fax: 327-9667
COS: Mary Anne Moore
844 Union Ave #A
Fairfield 94533 (707) 429-2383
Fax: (707) 429-1502
Dist Dir: Martin Tuttle

Trice Harvey (R-32)
Elected: 1986
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4162 445-8498
Fax: 324-4696
Leg Aide: Melanie Anderson
100 W Columbus #201
Bakersfield 93301 (805) 324-3300
Fax: (805) 395-3883
COS: Jimmy Yee

Dan Hauser (D-1)
Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #2003 445-8360
Fax: 322-5214
Schd Sec: Diane M. Plescia
510 O St #G
Eureka 95501 (707) 445-7014
Fax: (707) 445-6607
Field Rep: Sandra Corcoran

Phil Hawkins (R-56)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4126 445-6047
Fax: 327-1784
Leg Rep: Dan Feli
4425 Atlantic Ave #B22
Long Beach 95814 (310) 984-7709
Fax: (310) 984-9469
COS: Chris St. Hilaire

Bill Hoge (R-44)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4177 445-8211
Fax: 323-9420
AA: Dianna Curd
1276 E Colorado Blvd #203
Pasadena 91106 (818) 577-4470
Fax: (818) 577-0614
COS: Brent ten Pas

Paul Horcher (I-60)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3123 445-7550
Fax: 324-6973
COS: Ron Brand
325 N Azusa Ave
West Covina 91791
(818) 967-5299
Fax: (818) 967-9159
Field Rep: Diem Trang-Dang

George House (R-25)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5144 445-7906
Fax: 445-7344
COS: Jennifer Jacobs
1101 Standifourd Ave #B-5
Modesto 95350 (209) 549-1041
Fax: (209) 549-1045
AA: Jennifer Jacobs

Phillip Isenberg (D-9)
Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #6005 445-1611
Fax: Won't Disclose
COS: Alison Harvey
1215 15th St #102
Sacramento 95814 324-4676
Fax: 322-1239
Field Rep: Jose Cornejo

Ross Johnson (R-72)
Elected: 1978
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3151 445-7448
Fax: Won't Disclose
AA: Susan R. Swatt
1501 N Harbor Blvd #201
Fullerton 92635 (714) 738-5853
Fax: Won't Disclose
Field Rep: Leisha A. Bolland

Howard Kaloogian (R-74)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #6028 445-2390
Fax: 324-9991
Cos: Bob Wolfe
701 Palomar Airport Rd #160
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Fax: 324-6860
Leg Aide: Kathy Van Osten
9140 Van Nuys Blvd #109
Panorama City 91402
(818) 894-3671
Fax: (818) 894-4672
AA: Laura Leganza-Reynolds

William J. Knight (R-36)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4005 445-7498
Fax: 327-1789
Leg Asst: Matthew Rexroad
1529 E Palmdale Blvd #308
Palmdale 93550 (805) 947-9664
Fax: (805) 947-9145
Field Rep: Monna Wagner

David Knowles (R-4)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4167 445-8343
Fax: 327-2210
Leg Aide: Kevin Brown
3161 Cameron Park Dr #214
Cameron Park 95682 676-5953
Fax: 933-5189
Dist Dir: Rick Staats

Wally Knox (D-42)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4112 445-7440
Fax: 445-0119
Cnslt: Alan Lofaso
8425 W 3rd St #406
Los Angeles 90048 (213) 655-9750
Fax: (213) 655-9725
AA: Barbara Kaplan

Sheila Kuehl (D-41)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2141 445-4956
Fax: (941) 324-4454
COS: Carol Wallisch
16130 Ventura Blvd #230
Encino 91436 (818) 501-8991
Fax: (818) 501-8432
COS: Laura Plotkin

Steven T. Kuykendall (R-54)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5158 445-9234
Fax: 324-6861
COS: Chris Reynolds
444 W Ocean Blvd #707
Long Beach 90802 (310) 495-4766
Fax: (310) 495-1876
AA: Kerry Geoghan

Barbara Lee (D-16)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4146 445-7442
Fax: 327-1941
Leg Aide: Yolanda Stevens
1440 Broadway #810
Oakland 94612 (510) 286-0339
Fax: (510) 763-2023
COS: Anita Sanchez

Michael J. Machado (D-17)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5136 445-7931
Fax: 327-3519
AA: Tim Reardon
31 E Channel St #306
Stockton 95202 (209) 948-7479
Fax: (209) 465-5058
AA: Candace Blue

Diane Martinez (D-49)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #5119 445-7852
Fax: 324-1393
COS: Sedrick Spencer
320 S Garfield Ave #202
Alhambra 91801 (818) 570-6121
Fax: (818) 570-8470
Office Coordinator: Susan Baker

Kerry Mazzoni (D-6)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4139 445-7783
Fax: 445-2840
AA: Patti Habel
3501 Civic Center Dr #335
San Rafael 94903 (415) 479-4920
Fax: (415) 479-2123
COS: Leslie Decker

Juanita M. McDonald (D-55)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2196 445-3134
Fax: 322-0655
COS: Vincent Harris
1 Civic Plaza Dr #320
Carson 90745 (310) 518-3324
Fax: (310) 518-3508
Chf AA: Denise McLaughlin

Bruce McPherson (R-27)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4017 445-8496
Fax: 445-1826
Leg Asst: Lisa S. Lehman
701 Ocean St #318-B
Santa Cruz 95060 (408) 425-1503
Fax: (408) 454-3070
Field Rep: Michael Warren

Jim Morrissey (R-69)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #448 445-7333
Fax: 327-1783
AA: N. David Stefanides
930 W 17th St #C]
Santa Ana 92706 (714) 285-0355
Fax: (714) 285-1301
AA: Tom Ross

Bill Morrow (R-73)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2111 445-7676
Fax: 323-8318
Leg Asst: Dan Chick
302 N Hill St
Oceanside 92054 (619) 757-8084
Fax: (619) 757-8087
Field Rep: Laurel McAllister Moore

Kevin Murray (D-47)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2117 445-8800
Fax: 445-8899
Secy: Janae Hackett
Buckingham Heights Business Park
Culver City 90230 (213) 292-8800
Fax: (213) 292-8899
COS: Samuel J. Hill Jr.

Willard H. Murray Jr. (D-52)
Elected: 1988
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3091 445-7486
Fax: 447-3079
Leg Aide: Diane Shelton
16444 Paramount Blvd #100
Paramount 90723 (310) 516-4144
Fax: (310) 630-0231
AA: Rose Mary Spriggs

Grace F. Napolitano (D-58)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #6011 445-0965
Fax: 327-1203
Leg Aide: David M. Lanier
12009 Firestone Blvd
Norwalk 90650 (310) 406-7322
Fax: (310) 406-7327
Field Rep/Off Mgr: Amy Rueda

Keith Olberg (R-34)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4009 445-8102
Fax: 323-7467
Leg Asst: Lance Hastings
14011 Park Ave #470
Victorville 92392 (619) 951-8555
Fax: (619) 951-7476
AA: Terry Bye

Charles S. Poochigian (R-29)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5160 445-2931
Fax: 445-3832
AA: Mike Villines
2497 West Shaw #106
Fresno 93711 (209) 224-7833
Fax: (209) 223-7835
Dist Off Dir: Mary Kaloostian

Curt Pringle (R-68)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2114 445-8377
Fax: 323-5467
Leg Asst: Deborah Gonzalez
12865 Main St #100
Garden Grove 92640
(714) 638-1393
Fax: (714) 638-1496
COS: Jeff Flint

Richard K. Rainey (R-15)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4015 445-6161
Fax: 327-5297
Exec Secy: Dianne Davis
1948 Mt Diablo Blvd
Walnut Creek 94596
(510) 933-9196
Fax: (510) 933-9204
AA: Cynthia Hughes

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Bernie Richter (R-3)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4208 445-7298
Fax: 323-3550
Leg Asst: Jill Frechette
460 W East Ave #120
Chico 95926 345-7807
Fax: 345-7899
COS: David Reade

James Rogan (R-43)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #6017 445-8364
Fax: 323-4398
Leg Asst: Grant Gillham
300 W Glenoaks Blvd #202
Glendale 91202 (818) 240-6330
Fax: (818) 240-4632
Field Rep: Natalie Blanning

Brian Setencich (R-30)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2158 445-7558
Fax: 323-1097
Leg Aide: Tracy Nott
3475 W. Shaw Ave
Fresno 93711 (209) 276-3488
Fax: (209) 276-8154
Cos: Mark Jackson

Byron D. Sher (D-21)
Elected: 1980
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #2136 445-7632
Fax: 324-6974
COS: Kip Lipper
702 Marshall St #290
Redwood City 94063
(415) 364-2080
Fax: (415) 364-2102
AA: Betsy Shotwell

Jackie Speier (D-19)
Elected: 1986
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4140 445-8020
Fax: 445-0511
COS: Richard Steffen
220 S Spruce St #101
S San Francisco 94080
(415) 871-4100
Fax: (415) 871-4350
AA: Judy Bloom

Michael Sweeney (D-18)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2013 445-8160
Fax: 445-0967
COS: Steve Sanders
22320 Foothill Blvd #130
Hayward 94541 (510) 352-2673
Fax: (510) 352-4688
AA: Mark Evanoff

Nao Takasugi (R-37)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2016 445-7827
Fax: 324-6869
Leg Asst: Julia King
221 E Daily Dr #7
Camarillo 93010 (805) 987-5195
Fax: (805) 484-0853
Field Rep: Jaylene Hobrecht

Bruce Thompson (R-66)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4158 445-1676
Fax: 447-4457
COS: David Reynolds
27555 Ynez Rd #205
Temecula 92592 (909) 699-1113
Fax: (909) 694-1039
AA: Verne Lauritzen

Curtis R. Tucker Jr. (D-51)
Elected: 1989
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4016 445-7533
Fax: 327-3517
COS: Tracey St. Julien
1 Manchester Blvd Box 6500
Inglewood 90301 (310) 412-6400
Fax: (310) 412-6354
AA: Pamela Craddock

John Vasconcellos (D-22)
Elected: 1966
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #6026 445-4253
Fax: 323-9209
COS: Rand Martin
100 Paseo de San Antonio #106
San Jose 95113 (408) 288-7515
Fax: (408) 277-1249
Field Rep: Karalyn M. Johnson

Antonio Villaraigosa (D-45)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4144 445-0703
Fax: 445-0764
AA: Rebecca Gonzales
110 North Ave 56
Los Angeles 90042 (213) 255-7079
Fax: (213) 255-3279
Field Rep: Denise Price

Ted Weggeland (R-64)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2174 445-0854
Fax: 323-7179
COS: Barbara Dunham
6840 Indiana Ave #150
Riverside 92506 (909) 369-6644
Fax: (909) 369-0366
AA: Ann Cramer

Tom Woods Jr. (R-2)
Elected: 1994
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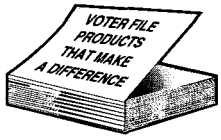

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Alfred E. Alquist (D-13)
Elected: 1966
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5100 445-9740
Fax: 323-8386
AA: Christopher Janzen
100 Paseo de San Antonio #209
San Jose 95113 (408) 286-8318
Fax: (408) 286-2338
Dist Coord: Loretta Riddle

Ruben S. Ayala (D-32)
Elected: 1974
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #5108 445-6868
Fax: 445-0128
COS: Sandra Miller
9620 Center Ave #100
Rancho Cucamonga 91730
(909) 466-6882
Fax: (909) 941-7219
COS: George Burden

Robert G. Beverly (R-27)
Elected: 1976
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5082 445-6447
Fax: Won't Disclose
Staff Dir: Lee Bennett
1611 S Pacific Coast Hwy
Redondo Beach 90277
(310) 540-1611
Fax: Won't Disclose
AA: Thomas R. Martin

Daniel E. Boatwright (D-7)
Elected: 1980
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #3086 445-6083
Fax: Won't Disclose
COS: Tim Shelley
1001 Galaxy Wy #210
Concord 94520 (510) 689-1973
Fax: (510) 689-0618
AA: Philip Arndt

Charles Calderon (D-30)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4039 327-8315
Fax: Won't Disclose
COS: Kelly Jensen
400 N Montebello Blvd #101
Montebello 90640 (213) 724-6175
Fax: (213) 724-6566
COS: Dennis Kazarian

Tom Campbell (R-11)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4032 445-6747
Fax: 323-4529
COS: Karin Miranda Pipkin
373 First St #100
Los Altos 94022 (415) 949-5401
Fax: (415) 949-5495
Dist Adm: Casey Beyer

Jim Costa (D-16)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #2054 445-4641
Fax: 327-5989
COS: Terry Reardon
1111 Fulton Mall #914
Fresno 93721 (209) 264-3078
Fax: (209) 445-6506
Field Rep: Jesse Arreguin

William A. Craven (R-38)
Elected: 1978
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #3070 445-3731
Fax: 446-7382
Chf Cnsl: Scott B. Johnson
2121 Palomar Airport Rd #100
Carlsbad 92009 (619) 438-3814
Fax: (619) 931-5745
COS: Mary Jo Kerlin

Ralph C. Dills (D-28)
Elected: 1966
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #5050 445-5953
Fax: 323-6056
AA: Polly C. Gardner
16921 S Western Ave #101
Gardena 90247 (310) 324-4969
Fax: (310) 329-5244
AA: Rose Sarukian

Leroy F. Greene (D-6)
Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2082 445-7807
Fax: Won't Disclose
Sr Cnslt: Elva Raish
Box 254646
Sacramento 95825 324-4937
Field Rep: Bruce Roberson

Tom Hayden (D-23)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #2080 445-1353
Fax: 324-4823
COS: Duane Peterson
10951 W Pico Blvd #202
Los Angeles 90064 (310) 441-9084
Fax: (310) 441-0724
Dist Dir: Sandy Brown

Ray Haynes (R-36)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #4082 445-9781
Fax: 447-9008
Leg Cnslt: Micheal D. Bowman
6840 Indiana Ave #275
Riverside 92506 (909) 782-4111
Fax: (909) 276-4483
COS: Larry Holland

Teresa Hughes (D-25)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5114 445-2104
Fax: 445-3712
Sr Asst: Joseph I. Hew Len
1 Manchester Blvd #401
Inglewood 90301 (310) 412-0393
Fax: (310) 412-0996
AA: Patricia P. White

Rob Hurtt (R-34)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #3076 445-5831
Fax: 323-8985
AA: Peter Henderson
11642 Knott St #8
Garden Grove 92641
(714) 898-8353
Fax: (714) 898-8033
AA: Kim Barone

K. Maurice Johannessen (R-4)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #2066 445-3353
Fax: 445-7750
COS: Forrest Sprague
410 Hempsted Dr #200
Redding 96002 (916) 224-4706
Fax: (916) 224-4794
Off Mgr/A.A.: Cheri Beck

Patrick Johnston (D-5)
Elected: 1991
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #5066 445-2407
Fax: Won't Disclose
COS: Ross Sargent
31 E Channel St #440
Stockton 95202 (209) 948-7930
Fax: (209) 948-7993
AA: Fran Gottlieb

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David G. Kelley (R-37)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #3082 445-5581
Fax: 327-2187
COS: Nancy Lucchesi Newbill
11440 W Bernardo Ct #104
San Diego 92127 (619) 675-8211
Fax: (619) 675-8262
Dist Coord: Dorothy Moelter

Lucy Killea (I-39)
Elected: 1989
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #4061 445-3952
Fax: 327-2188
COS: Craig Reynolds
2550 5th Ave #152
San Diego 92103 (619) 696-6955
Fax: (619) 696-8930
AA: Kimberley McManus

Quentin L. Kopp (I-8)
Elected: 1986
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #2057 445-0503
Fax: 327-2186
COS: Daniel B. Friedlander
363 El Camino Real #205
South San Francisco 94080
(415) 952-5666
Fax: (415) 589-5953
AA: Denise La Pointe

Bill Leonard (R-31)
Elected: 1988
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5087 445-3688
Fax: 327-2272
COS: Robert J. McKenzie, Jr.
400 N Mountain Ave #109
Upland 91786 (909) 946-4889
Fax: (909) 982-1197
AA: Janice L. Molnar

Tim Leslie (R-1)
Elected: 1991
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4081 445-5788
Fax: Won't Disclose
COS: John Allard
1200 Melody Ln #110
Roseville 95678 969-8232
Fax: Won't Disclose
Dist Coord: Robert Dugan

John R. Lewis (R-33)
Elected: 1991
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #3063 445-4264
Fax: 324-2896
COS: Christopher Jones
1940 W Orangewood Ave #106
Orange 92668 (714) 939-0604
Fax: (714) 939-0730
AA: Laura Mahan

Bill Lockyer (D-10)
Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #205 445-6671
Fax: 323-2234
COS: Joan Gulick
22634 Second St #104
Hayward 94541 (510) 582-8800
Fax: (510) 582-0822
Field Coord: Elsa Ortiz-Cashman

Ken Maddy (R-14)
Elected: 1979
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #305 445-9600
Fax: 327-3523
COS: Jo-Ann Slinkard
2503 W Shaw Ave #101
Fresno 93711 (209) 445-5567
Fax: (209) 445-6009
Field Rep: Jan Dana

Milton Marks (D-3)
Elected: 1967
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5035 445-1412
Fax: 327-7229
COS: Sherry Geiogue
30 N San Pedro Rd #160
San Rafael 94903 (415) 479-6612
Fax: (415) 346-4009
AA: Elizabeth L. Doherty

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Henry J. Mello (D-15)
Elected: 1980
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #313 445-5843
Fax: 448-0175
COS: Sherri Yee
92 5th St
Gilroy 95020 (408) 848-1437
Fax: (408) 848-6311
COS: Gail Bathiany

Dick Monteith (R-12)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #2048 445-1392
Fax: 445-0773
Cnslt: Bill Gage
Box 1101
Modesto 95353 (209) 578-1391
Fax: (209) 578-1454
AA: Eileen Hodson

Richard L. Mountjoy (R-29)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #4062 445-2848
Fax: Won't Disclose
Leg Asst: Nancy Leneis
208 N First St
Arcadia 91006 (818) 446-3134
Fax: (818) 445-3591
Sr Asst: Peggy Mew

Jack O'Connell (D-18)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #2187 445-5405
Fax: Won't Disclose
Leg Coord: Margaret Healey
228 W Carrillo St #F
Santa Barbara 93101
(805) 966-2296
Fax: (805) 966-3707
AA: Bev O'Gorman

Steve Peace (D-40)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #5064 445-6767
Fax: 327-3522
COS: Robin Larson
430 Davidson St #B
Chula Vista 91910 (619) 427-7080
Fax: (619) 426-7369
Exec Asst: Shere S. Mann

Nicholas C. Petris (D-9)
Elected: 1966
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5080 445-6577
Fax: 327-1997
COS: Felice Tanenbaum
1970 Broadway #1030
Oakland 94612 (510) 286-1333
Fax: (510) 286-3885
AA: Alfreda H. Abbott

Richard Polanco (D-22)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2004
Capitol Building #2032 445-3456
Fax: 445-0413
AA: Chris Flammer
107 S Broadway #2105
Los Angeles 90012(213) 620-2529
Fax: (213) 617-0077
AA: Bill Mabie

Don Rogers (R-17)
Elected: 1986
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5052 445-6637
Fax: 443-4015
Leg Asst: Anita Ramos
Box 902725
Palmdale 93590 (805) 266-9353
Fax: (805) 266-1237
Rep: Clyde Bailey

Herschel Rosenthal (D-20)
Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4070 445-7928
Fax: Won't Disclose
AA: Dan Flynn
1950 Sawtelle Blvd #210
Los Angeles 90025(310) 479-5588
Fax: (310) 477-8172
COS: Lynnette Stevens

Newton R. Russell (R-21)
Elected: 1974
Term Limit: 1996
Capitol Building #5061 445-5976
Fax: 324-7543
COS: Kay Lentz
401 N Brand Blvd #424
Glendale 91203 (818) 247-7021
Fax: (818) 240-5672
COS: Wellington Love

Hilda L. Solis (D-24)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Building #4090 445-1418
Fax: 445-0485
COS: Dolores Duran
4401 Santa Anita Blvd 2nd Flr
El Monte 91731 (818) 448-1271
Fax: (818) 448-8062
Field Rep: Antonio Aguilar

Mike Thompson (D-2)
Elected: 1993
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #3056 445-3375
Fax: 323-6958
COS: Ed Matovcik
50 D St #120A
Santa Rosa 95404 (707) 576-2771
Fax: (707) 576-2773
AA: Kathleen Gallagher

Diane E. Watson (D-26)
Elected: 1978
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Building #4040 445-5215
Fax: 327-2599
COS: John Miller
4401 Crenshaw Blvd #300
Los Angeles 90043 (213) 295-6655
Fax: (213) 295-0910
Chf Dpty: Charles B. Stewart

Cathie Wright (R-19)
Elected: 1992
Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Building #4052 445-8873
Fax: 324-7544
COS: Catherine Morrison
2345 Erringer Rd #212
Simi Valley 93065 (805) 522-2920
Fax: (805) 522-1194
AA: John Theiss

LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

Jan. 1 Statutes take effect.

Jan. 4 Legislature reconvenes.

Jan. 10 Budget must be submitted by Governor.

Jan. 20 Last day to submit bill requests to the Office of Legislative Counsel.

Feb. 24 Last day for bills to be introduced.

Apr. 6 Easter recess begins at the end of this day's session.

Apr. 17 Legislature reconvenes from Easter recess.

Apr. 21 Last day for policy committees to hear and report to fiscal committees fiscal bills introduced in their house.

May 12 Last day for policy committees to report non-fiscal bills introduced in their house to Floor.

May 19 Last day for policy committee hearings prior to June 5.

May 26 Last day for fiscal committees to hear and report to the Floor bills introduced in their house. Last day for fiscal committees to meet prior to June 5.

June 2 Last day for Assembly to pass Assembly Bills or Senate to pass Senate Bills.

June 5 Committee meetings may resume.

June 15 Budget must be passed by midnight.

July 14 Last day for policy committees to meet and report bills. Summer Recess begins at end of this day's session if Budget Bill has been enacted.

Aug. 14 Legislature reconvenes from Summer recess.

Sept. 1 Last Day for fiscal committees to meet and to report bills to Floor.

Sept. 15 Last Day for each house to pass bills. Interim study recess begins at end of this day's session.

Oct. 15 Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills presented to him at end of session.

Jan. 1 Statutes take effect.

Jan. 3 Legislature reconvenes.

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U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 (202) 224-3121

U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510 (202) 224-3121

SENATORS

Barbara Boxer (D)
Elected: 1992
Hart Bldg #112 224-3553
AA: Karen Olick
1700 Montgomery St #240
San Francisco 94111
(415) 403-0100
Fax: (415) 956-6701
Spec Asst: Jackie de Nevers

Dianne Feinstein (D)
Elected: 1992
Hart Bldg #331 224-3841
Fax: 228-3954
AA: Mike McGill
1700 Montgomery St #305
San Francisco 94111
(415) 249-4777
Fax: (415) 249-4786
AA: Vacant

REPRESENTATIVES

Bill Baker (R-10)
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1724 225-1880
Fax: 225-2150
AA: John Walker
1801 N California #103
Walnut Creek 94596
(510) 932-8899
Fax: (510) 932-8159
Dist Dir: Ann Jordan

Xavier Becerra (D-30)
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1119 225-6235
Fax: 225-2202
AA: Elsa Marquez
2459 Colorado Blvd #200
Los Angeles 90041
(213) 550-8962
Fax: (213) 550-1440
AA: Krista Atteberry

Anthony C. Beilenson (D-24)
Elected: 1976
Rayburn Bldg #2465 225-5911
AA: Jan Faulstich
21031 Ventura Blvd #1010
Woodland Hills 91364-6400
(818) 999-1990
Fax: (818) 999-2287
Office Mgr: Virginia Hatfield

Howard L. Berman (D-26)
Elected: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2231 225-4695
Fax: 225-5279
COS: Gene Smith
10200 Sepulveda Blvd #130
Mission Hills 91345
(818) 891-0543
Fax: (818) 830-1990
AA: Tom Waldman

Brian P. Bilbray (R-49)
Elected: 1994
Longworth Bldg #1004 225-2040
Fax: 225-2948
AA: John Woodard
1011 Camino Del Rio #330
San Diego 92108
(619) 291-1430
Fax: (619) 291-8956
Dist Dir: Steve Danon

Sonny Bono (R-44)
Elected: 1994
Cannon Bldg #512 225-5330
Fax: 225-2961
AA: Vacant
1555 S Palm Canyon #G101
Palm Springs 92264
(619) 320-1076
Fax: (619) 320-0596
Regional Dir: Joy Schlendorf

George E. Brown Jr. (D-42)
Elected: 1972
Rayburn Bldg #2300 225-6161
Fax: 225-8671
Dist Dir: Bill Grady
657 N La Cadena Dr
Colton 92324 (909) 825-2472
Fax: (909) 824-3825
Dist Admin: Wilmer Carter

Ken Calvert (R-43)
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1034 225-1986
AA: Ed Slevin
3400 Central Ave #200
Riverside 92506
(909) 784-4300
Fax: (909) 784-5255
Dist Dir: Sue Miller

Gary Condit (D-18)
Elected: 1989
Rayburn Bldg #2444 225-6131
Fax: 225-0819
Exec Asst: Mike Dayton
920 16th St #C
Modesto 95354
(209) 527-1914
Fax: (209) 527-5748
COS: Michael Lynch

C. Christopher Cox (R-47)
Elected: 1988
Rayburn Bldg #2402 225-5611
Fax: 225-9177
COS: Jan Fujiwara
4000 MacArthur Blvd #430
Newport Beach 92660
(714) 756-2244
Fax: (714) 251-9309
Sr Staff Asst: Dina Gartland

Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R-51)
Elected: 1990
Cannon Bldg #227 225-5452
Fax: 225-2558
COS: Frank Collins
613 W Valley Park Wy #320
Escondido 92025
(619) 737-8438
Fax: (619) 737-9132
Dist Dir: Kathy Stafford-Taulbee

Ronald V. Dellums (D-9)
Elected: 1970
Rayburn Bldg #2108 225-2661
Fax: 225-9817
AA: Carlotta Scott
1301 Clay St #1000-N
Oakland 94612
(510) 763-0370
Fax: (510) 763-6538
Dist Dir: Sandre Swanson

Julian C. Dixon (D-32)
Elected: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2252
225-7084
Fax: 225-4091
AA: Tracy Holmes
5100 W Goldleaf Cir #208
Los Angeles 90056
(213) 678-5424
Fax: (213) 678-6026
AA: Patricia Miller

Calvin M. Dooley (D-20)
Elected: 1990
Longworth Bldg #1227 225-3341
Fax: 225-9308
COS: Lisa Quigly
224 W Lacey Blvd
Hanford 93230
(800) 464-4294
Fax: (209) 585-8199
Dist Dir: Alex Peltzer

John T. Doolittle (R-4)
Elected: 1990
Longworth Bldg #1526 225-2511
Fax: 225-5444
COS: David Lopez
2130 Professional Dr #190
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Robert K. Dornan (R-46)
Elected: 1984
Longworth Bldg #1201 225-2965
Fax: 225-0275
Leg Asst: Jennifer Larken
300 Plz Alacante #360
Garden Grove 92640
(714) 971-9292
Fax: (714) 971-1827
Dist Admin: Pat Fanelli

David Dreier (R-28)
Elected: 1980
Cannon Bldg #409 225-2305
Fax: 225-7018
Staff Dir: Brad Smith
112 N Second Ave
Covina 91723
(818) 339-9078
Fax: (818) 339-6895
Dist Mgr: Joan Couch

Anna G. Eshoo (D-14)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Building #308 225-8104
Fax: 225-8890
COS: John Flaherty
698 Emerson St
Palo Alto 94301
(415) 323-2984
Fax: (415) 323-3498
Dist Mgr: Bruce Ives

Sam Farr (D-17)
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1117 225-2861
Fax: 225-6791
AA: Rochelle Dornatt
380 Alvarado St
Monterey 93940
(408) 649-3555
Fax: (408) 649-2323
Dist Dir: Donna Blitzer

Vic Fazio (D-3)
Elected: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2113 225-5716
AA: Linda Reiff
722B Main St
Woodland 95695
(916) 666-5521
Fax: (916) 666-3413
Dist Dir: Richard Harris

Bob Filner (D-50)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #504 225-8045
Fax: 225-9073
COS: David Ginsborg
333 F St #A
Chula Vista 91910
(619) 422-5963
Fax: (619) 422-7290
Dist Dir: Vincent Hall

Elton Gallegly (R-23)
Elected: 1986
Rayburn Bldg #2441 225-5811
Fax: 225-1100
AA: Mike Wootton
300 Esplanade Dr #1800
Oxnard 93030
(805) 485-2300
Fax: (805) 225-1100
Dist Dir: Paula Sheil

Jane Harman (D-36)
Elected: 1994
Cannon Bldg #325 225-8220
Fax: Not available
AA: Vacant
5200 W Century Blvd #960
Los Angeles 90045
(310) 348-8220
Fax: Not available
AA: Vacant

Wally Herger (R-2)
Elected: 1986
Rayburn Bldg #2433 225-3076
Fax: 225-3245
AA: John Magill
55 Independence Cir #104
Chico 95926
(916) 893-8363
Fax: (916) 893-8619
Dist Dir: Fran Peace

Steve Horn (R-38)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #129 225-6676
Fax: 226-1012
COS: Jim Dykstra
4010 Watson Plz Dr #160
Lakewood 90712
(310) 425-1336
Fax: (310) 425-4591
Dist Dir: Connie Sziebl

Duncan Hunter (R-52)
Elected: 1980
Rayburn Bldg #2265 225-5672
Fax: 225-0235
COS: Vicki Middleton
366 S Pierce St
El Cajon 92020
(619) 579-3001
Fax: (619) 579-2251
COS: Wendell Cutting

Jay C. Kim (R-41)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #435 225-3201
Fax: 226-7485
COS: Matt Reynolds
1131 W 6th St #160A
Ontario 91762
(909) 988-1055
Fax: (909) 988-5723
Dist Dir: Peter Stevens

Tom Lantos (D-12)
Elected: 1980
Rayburn Bldg #2217 225-3531
AA: Robert King
400 S El Camino Real
San Mateo 94402-1708
(415) 342-0300
Fax: (415) 375-8270
Dist Rep: Evelyn Szelenyi

Jerry Lewis (R-40)
Elected: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2112 225-5861
Fax: 225-6498
AA: Arlene Willis
1150 Brookside Ave #J5
Redlands 92373
(909) 862-6030
Fax: (909) 335-9155
Dist Rep: Pat Cinque

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Zoe Lofgren (D-16)
Elected: 1994
Cannon Bldg #118 225-3072
Fax: 225-3336
AA: Vacant
635 N 1st St
San Jose 95110
(408) 271-8700
Fax: Not available
COS: Mavis Toscano

Matthew G. Martinez (D-31)
Elected: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2239 225-5464
Fax: 225-5467
COS: Maxine Grant
320 S Garfield Ave #214
Alhambra 91801
(818) 458-4524
Fax: (818) 458-7457
Sr Field Rep: David Tierney

Robert T. Matsui (D-5)
Elected: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2311 225-7163
Fax: 225-0566
COS: Tom Keaney
650 Capitol Mall #8058
Sacramento 95814
(916) 551-2846
Fax: (916) 444-6117
Dist Dir: Collette Johnson-Schulke

Howard P. McKeon (R-25)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #307 225-1956
Fax: 226-0683
COS: Bob Cochran
23929 W Valencia Blvd 410
Santa Clarita 91355
(805) 254-2111
Fax: (805) 254-2380
Dist Dir: Armando Azarloza

George Miller (D-7)
Elected: 1974
Rayburn Bldg #2205 225-2095
Fax: 225-5609
AA: Danny Weiss
367 Civic Dr #14
Pleasant Hill 94523
(510) 602-1880
Fax: (510) 674-0983
Dist Dir: Mary Lansing

Norman Y. Mineta (D-15)
Elected: 1974
Rayburn Bldg #2221 225-2631
AA: David Castagnetti
1245 S Winchester Blvd #310
San Jose 95128
(408) 984-6045
Fax: (408) 984-5409
COS: Susan Fitts

Carlos J. Moorhead (R-27)
Elected: 1972
Rayburn Bldg #2346 225-4176
Fax: 226-1279
AA: Maxine Dean
420 N. Brand Blvd #304
Pasadena 91101
(818) 247-8445
Fax: (818) 247-4908
Dist Dir: Peter Musurlian

Ron Packard (R-48)
Elected: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2162 225-3906
Fax: 225-0134
AA: David Coggin
221 E Vista Wy #205
Vista 92084
(619) 631-1364
Fax: (619) 631-1367
Dist Rep: Don Polese

Nancy Pelosi (D-8)
Elected: 1988
Rayburn Bldg #2457 225-4965
Fax: 225-8259
AA: Judy Lemmons
450 Golden Gate Ave
San Francisco 94102
(415) 556-4862
Fax: (415) 861-1670
Dist Rep: Michael Yaki

Richard W. Pombo (R-11)
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1519 225-1947
Fax: 226-0861
COS: Steve Ding
2321 W March Ln #205
Stockton 95207
(209) 951-3091
Fax: (209) 951-1910
Dist Dir: Steven Ding

George P. Radanovich (R-19)
Elected: 1994
Cannon Bldg #313 225-4540
Fax: Not available
COS: John McCamman
2377 W Shaw #105
Fresno 93711
(209) 248-0800
Fax: (209) 248-0169
Dist Dir: Steve Samuelian

Frank Riggs (R-1)
Elected: 1994
Longworth Bldg #1714 225-3311
Fax: 225-3403
COS: Steve Sutton
1700 2nd St #378 Napa 94559
(707) 254-7308
Fax: (707) 254-7502
Dist Dir: Pam Simpson

Dana Rohrabacher (R-45)
Elected: 1988
Rayburn Bldg #2338 225-2415
Fax: 225-0145
COS: Gary Curran
16162 Beach Blvd #304
Huntington Beach 92647-3813
(714) 847-2433
Fax: (714) 847-5153
Dist Dir: Kathleen Hollingsworth

Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-33)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #324 225-1766
Fax: 226-0350
COS: Henry Contreras
255 E Temple St #1860
Los Angeles 90012
(213) 628-9230
Fax: (213) 628-8578
Dist Dir: Yolanda Chavez

Edward Royce (R-39)
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1133 225-4111
Fax: 226-0335
COS: Joan Korich
305 N Harbor Blvd #300
Fullerton 92632
(714) 992-8081
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Elected: 1994
Longworth Bldg #1216 225-3601
Fax: 225-3426
COS: Kay Reiboldt
1525 State St #206
Santa Barbara 93116
(805) 899-3578
Fax: (805) 568-0836
Dist Dir: Eric Daniels

Fortney Pete Stark (D-13)
Elected: 1972
Cannon Bldg #239 225-5065
AA: Bill Vaughan
22320 Foothill Blvd #500
Hayward 94541
(510) 247-1388
Fax: (510) 247-2510
Dist Rep: Annie Zatlin

William M. Thomas (R-21)
Elected: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2208 225-2915
Fax: 225-8798
AA: Cathy Abernathy
4100 Truxtun Ave #220
Bakersfield 93309
(805) 327-3611
Fax: (805) 631-9535
Field Rep: Kevin McCarthy

Esteban Edward Torres (D-34)
Elected: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2368 225-5256
Fax: 225-9711
AA: Albert Jacquez
8819 Whittier Blvd #101
Pico Rivera 90660
(310) 695-0702
Fax: (310) 692-2216
COS: Jamie Casso

Walter R. Tucker III (D-37)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #419 225-7924
Fax: 225-7926
COS: Marcus Mason
145 E Compton Blvd
Compton 90220
(310) 884-9989
Fax: (310) 884-9023
Dist Admin: Audrey Gibson

Maxine Waters (D-35)
Elected: 1990
Cannon Bldg #330 225-2201
Fax: 225-7854
Office Mgr: Jim Key
10124 S Broadway #1
Los Angeles 90003
(213) 757-8900
Fax: (213) 757-9506
Dist Mgr: Rod Wright

Henry A. Waxman (D-29)
Elected: 1974
Rayburn Bldg #2408 225-3976
Fax: 225-4099
AA: Phil Shirilo
8436 W Third St #600
Los Angeles 90048
(213) 651-1040
Fax: (213) 655-8037
AA: Howard Elinson

Lynn Woolsey (D-6)
Elected: 1992
Cannon Bldg #439 225-5161
Fax: 225-5163
COS: Mark Issac
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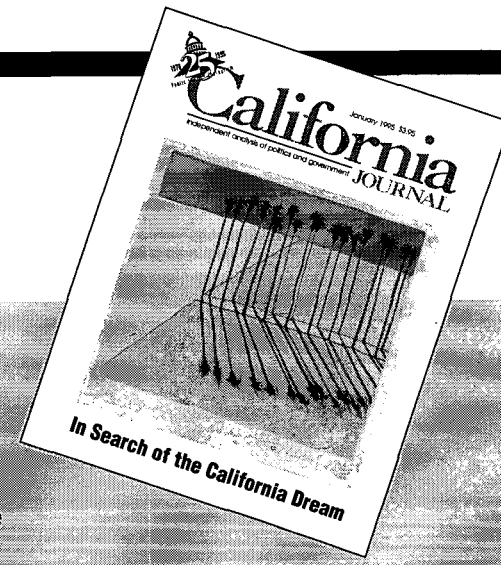

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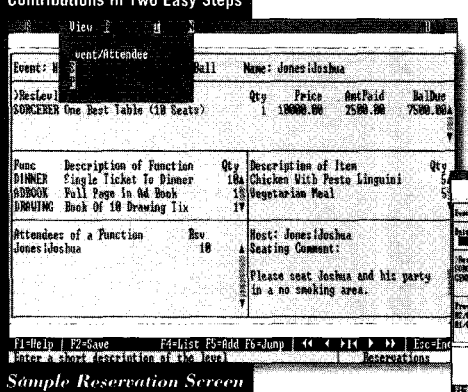

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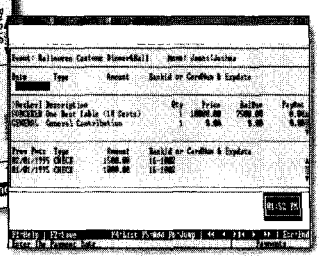

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CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

INITIAL STEPS BY AUTHOR

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read first time. Referred to policy committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

ACTION IN HOUSE OF ORIGIN

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study. Committee actions are reported to the floor. Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are re-referred to Appropriations Committee.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read the second time on the floor and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate on a subsequent day.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read the third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and most appropriations measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

ACTION IN SECOND HOUSE

READING

Bill is read the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are nearly identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

RESOLUTION OF TWO-HOUSE DIFFERENCES (IF NECESSARY)

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to agree, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee may be formed.

THE GOVERNOR

SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor may sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. Bill is sent to Secretary of State's office and given a chapter number. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override. Urgency measures may become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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Republicans: Craven, Johannessen, Kelley, Monteith, Rogers, Wright
Independent: Kopp
Cnslt: Mark Hite
Secy: Vacant
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Independent: Killea
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Democrats: Hughes, Mello, Polanco, Solis, Thompson
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Independent: Kopp
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Secy: Vacant
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Secretary: Vacant
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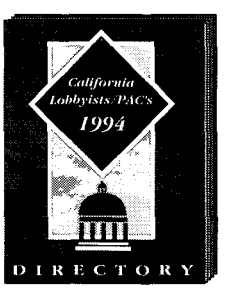

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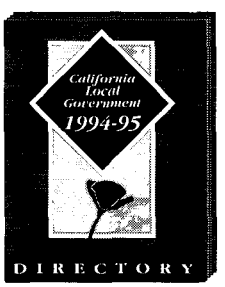

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The runaway train of 1996?

Will an affirmative-action initiative derail Democrats?

By Kirsten Mangold and A.G. Block

If you took most Democratic candidates off in a corner during the summer of 1994 and asked, "All kidding aside, what do you *really* think of the 'three strikes and you're out' initiative," the chorus chant would have been, "Horrible. Absolutely horrible, and I'm for it four square."

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Another profile in courage?

Depends on your definition of "courage," for "three strikes" — on the November 1994 ballot as Proposition 184 — was so popular with likely voters that it became the political equivalent of a runaway train. And no Democrat in a heavily contested election wanted to become a squashed bug on that train's headlight. In the end, however, the decision to support Proposition 184 was something of a no-brainer, even for Democrats. After all, who could be against putting scumbags away for life after they'd been convicted of a third felony? Democrats quibbled over the cost for new prisons and over the fact that many non-violent criminals would be snared in the "three strikes" net, but felons — even non-violent ones — were not a base constituency of the Democratic Party and not worth politicide.

> "I don't want to be stuck in '96 with an affirmative-action initiative on the ballot and the Democrats have no alternative to offer but the status quo." — Bill Press

But another runaway train may be forming a head of steam for the 1996 election season, and Democrats won't easily finesse their support or opposition to it. This time, the issue is repeal of the state's affirmative-action laws, and it threatens to thunder through the very heart of traditional Democratic constituencies.

Basically, the debate over affirmative-action laws revolves around the question of whether society ought to continue giving preferences to certain groups of people for jobs, educational opportunities and business contracts based on ethnicity, color or gender. Critics say affirmative action has served its purpose and now does more harm than good. Proponents argue that it still is necessary to level the playing field for minorities and women after centuries of discrimination.

For the second time in as many years, affirmative action has been dumped onto the legislative stage by Assemblyman Bernie Richter (R-Chico), who has sponsored a series of bills and one proposed constitutional amendment, the latter embodied in ACA2. Richter introduced his legislation at the end of January and made it nearly identical to a bill he carried in 1994. That previous attempt failed to get out of committee in the Assembly, but that was an Assembly controlled by Democrats. The new house is split evenly between the two parties.

Richter's package repeals affirmative-action requirements for state agencies, school districts and community colleges, and prohibits public officers from giving preference to applicants based on race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin. If passed, ACA 2 would go before voters in March 1996 for

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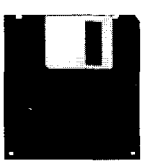

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ratification. As an attempt to amend the constitution, Richter's bill requires a super-majority — 54 votes in the Assembly and 27 in the Senate. As a result, its chances seem slender, even in an Assembly where Republicans have gained parity, because the house still is torn by partisan strife. But there is another element to the effort to repeal affirmative action, one that may have Democrats reaching for the Excedrin: the initiative process. Even as Richter girds for war over his bills, the California Civil Rights Initiative — which mirrors ACA 2 — is being readied for the November 1996 ballot.

For Democrats, it's *deja vu* all over again, a tag team of legislative bill and initiative reminiscent of the effort to pass "three strikes" legislation in 1994. In a legislative debate that could have been scripted by Lewis Carroll, Democrat after Democrat rose on the floor of the Assembly and Senate to say argue that "three strikes" was a rotten piece of legislation. They then proceeded to vote for it.

The affirmative-action initiative, which proponents will try to place on the ballot if Richter's bill fails, also puts an end to all racial and gender preferences in public employment, contracting and college admissions. It's already been endorsed in principle by Governor Pete Wilson and the Republican Party.

The argument to do away with affirmative action is simple enough: Once there was a time for such a program, and it did what it was supposed to do — give minorities an advantage in a society that long had suppressed them. But now, proponents say, the tables have turned, and perfectly qualified people are passed up for opportunities that go instead to someone less qualified, again because of skin color. "That's as bad as the 'Jim Crow' laws," Richter recently told the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He argues that affirmative-action laws have reached the point of causing reverse discrimination.

This issue seems tailor-made for Republicans, for it appeals to the core of their constituency: the same mostly conservative, mostly white, middle-age male voters who last year backed both "three strikes" and Proposition 187, the successful initiative that curtailed educational, welfare and medical benefits to illegal residents. These also are the same voters who fueled the Republican surge both in California and nationwide.

For Democrats, however, the issue is a minefield — a point acknowledged recently by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco). "It has the potential to be a divisive tool [among Democrats]," said Brown, a self-proclaimed product of affirmative action.

GOP Assemblyman Bernie Richter argues that affirmative-action laws cause reverse discrimination.

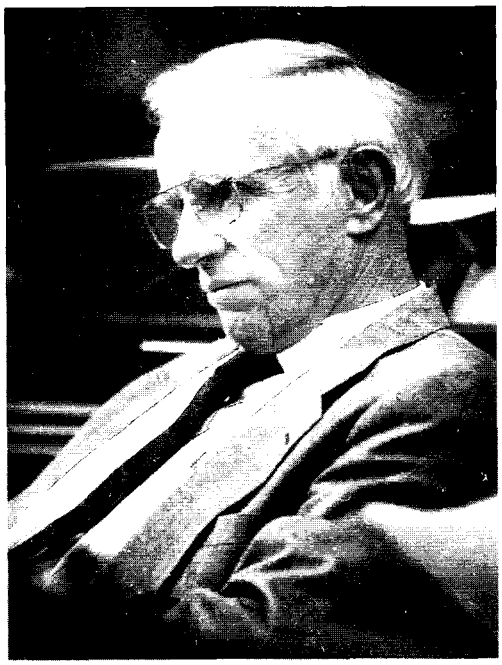

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Bernie Richter

State Democratic Party Chairman Bill Press seemed to echo the potential schizophrenia among Democrats as they approach the issue. On one hand, he expressed raw fear. "I don't want to see a repeat of Proposition 187 ... I don't want to be stuck in '96 with an affirmative-action initiative on the ballot and the Democrats have no alternative to offer but the status quo," he said. "Recognizing that this has the potential to be armageddon in California — far, far worse than 187 — I think we have to look for common ground." Press said that "common ground" could include legislation or an initiative that his party could support, or even a complete overhaul of the affirmative action system.

On the other hand, Press was scornful of Richter's efforts. "Some of the language that I've heard [from Richter] reminds me of David Duke and Ed Meese," he said, referring to the former Ku Klux Klan potentate who ran for

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governor of Louisiana a few years ago and to President Ronald Reagan's one-time attorney general. "If there's a problem, we're willing to fix it, but the solution is not to go back to the days when white boys ruled."

Repeal of affirmative-action laws poses a quandary for Democrats because it most directly affects some of its most loyal constituencies — women and minorities, especially African-Americans. But the reverberations from an initiative campaign to repeal those laws could echo all down the ticket in November 1996, from President Bill Clinton to those running for the Legislature. Clinton needs California to win re-election, and the last thing he needs is to share the ballot with an initiative that threatens to dominate the campaign and drive a wedge through his own party.

Duane Garrett, state chairman for U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein's 1994 re-election campaign, said that he is more than a little concerned about this possibility. "If Clinton and the Democratic Party walk the plank of supporting affirmative action, they could lose five or six points in the state," he said. "Clinton can't win without California, and affirmative action is a poison pill for his presidential bid."

In addition, the Democrats' hopes of regaining a majority in the Assembly — and holding one in the Senate — are pegged to winning back several critical Central Valley districts, as well as holding onto marginal seats in the Valley, north coast, San Diego and suburban areas around Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay. These are places where Democrats, for the most part, were clobbered in 1994 and where Propositions 184 and 187 passed overwhelmingly. Like Clinton, Democratic candidates running in marginal areas could be vulnerable should they be forced to take sides on the initiative. If they support it, they risk civil war inside the party. If they oppose it, they face being beaten to a pulp by their GOP opponents.

"There's certainly not going to be a unilateral response within the [Democratic] party," said political consultant David Townsend of Townsend, Hermillo, Raimundo and Usher in Sacramento. "It's like Will Rogers said, 'I don't belong to an organized party; I'm a Democrat.' The party will probably take a position on it, but as was the case with Proposition 187, many Democrats are going to support it or remain neutral. And it's not just the Democrats, either. We've had a political sea change in this country, and we're going to be looking at everything through different eyes."

Townsend is correct when he predicts that both party lines may fracture over this, for not all Republicans are lock step behind Richter. For instance, Deborah Wilder, a San Francisco attorney who ran as a Republican in the 12th Congressional District last year, believes Richter's bill is a "broad-brush approach to a situation with individual problems." And she insists that other Republicans agree with her. "... I see this constitutional amendment as abolishing programs that try to create any assistance at all to women or minorities. [Richter] has missed the point that 80 percent of these programs are based on goals, not race."

Wilder says she has written letters to members of the Legislature and has found several Republican allies. She plans to start a coalition against ACA 2, although she is unwilling to divulge names of similar-minded legislators until the logistics have been worked out.

"If you look at the language of this bill, it looks like God, country, mom and apple pie. It's the same bill that was introduced and killed last year, but they took out the harsh language and replaced it with other words," Wilder said, expressing concern that other Republicans — as well as the public — might be so dazzled by the surface appearance of the bill that they might not consider the additional implications.

One other Republican offering a different approach is state Senator Tom Campbell (R-Stanford). "How about taking into account your family's income, or taking into account the first in the family to go to college, or the person who has to work nights?" he told the *Chronicle* in January. "All of that is compassionate, but doesn't use race." Richter has said that he will amend his proposal to allow preferences for college applicants who have been economically disadvantaged. Opponents say that's not nearly enough of an olive branch.

Richter and his allies, however, might not be interested in olive branches. They can review the history of Proposition 184, where proponents used the threat of an initiative as a club hanging over the Legislature. Ironically, proponents put "three strikes" on the ballot anyway, where it passed overwhelmingly.

Wilder knows this same scenario is not out of the question, and she says the possibility concerns her. "It's going to be a hard fight, and an expensive fight. That's why we need to get in on the ground level."

Meanwhile, Democrats must be hoping that this potential runaway train either derails or runs out of steam before it highballs through Democrat Junction.

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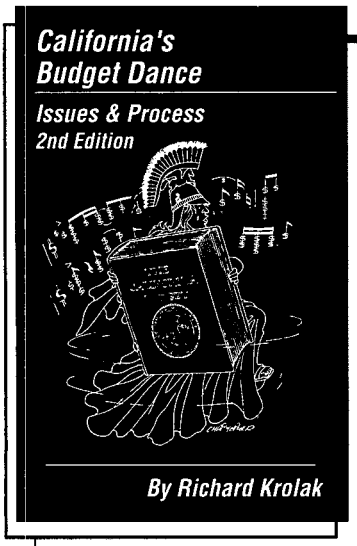

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California's

1970 25 1995
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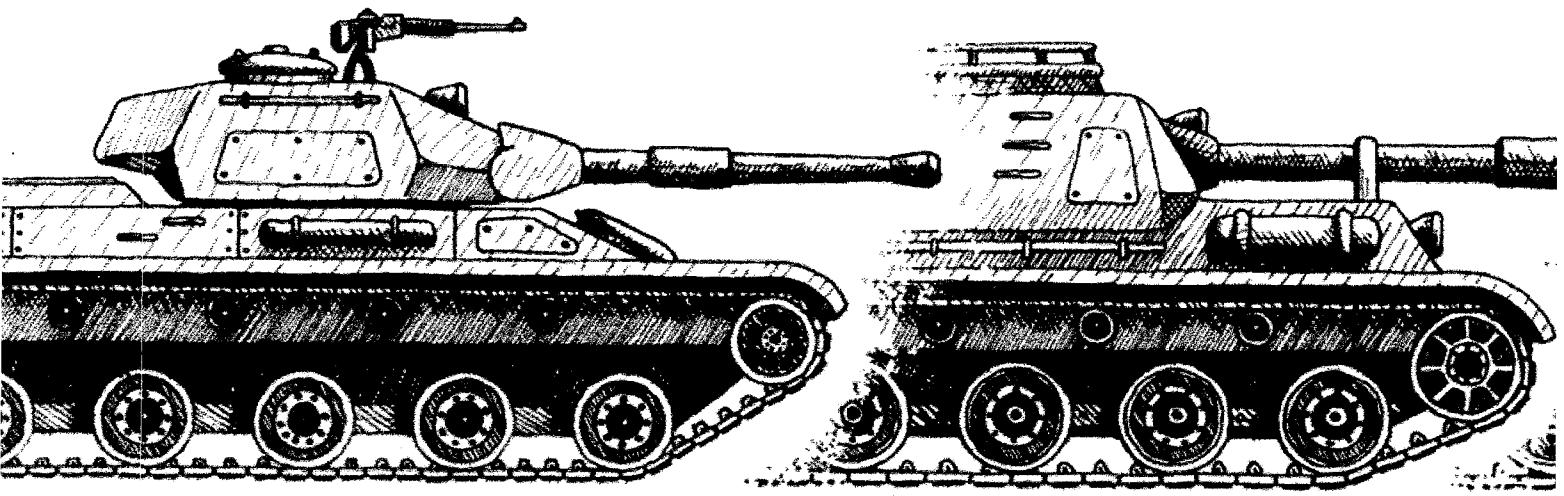
For generations, the Golden State went from boom to boom. Now, it has gone from boom to bust. Is there a new prosperity on the horizon?

By Susan F. Rasky



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"morphing" economy

Economics, like all great religions, is largely a matter of faith and assertion — a constant redefining of observable phenomena to explain the past, to predict the future and to make living in the unpleasant or confusing present a little more tolerable.

This is perhaps better understood elsewhere in the country. Here in California, we have never had to bother much about complicated economic explanations or redefinitions. Until recently, we had a perfectly serviceable myth that covered all contingencies. Our mythical past was an unbroken line of successes from the gold rush, to the oil boom, to the rise of Hollywood, the flourishing of the defense industry, the emergence of Silicon Valley and the spectacular rise in real estate prices. Our future was, well, just like the past, the only uncertainty being what precise form the next boom might take. And our present punctuated how special we were. In a state that can swing so easily from the politics of Jerry Brown to the politics of Ronald Reagan, why be overly concerned about the fulminations of Mother Nature?

> "The value of a 25 year economic forecast is its use at the retirement roast of the person who wrote it." — Fred Silva, executive secretary, California Constitutional Revision Commission

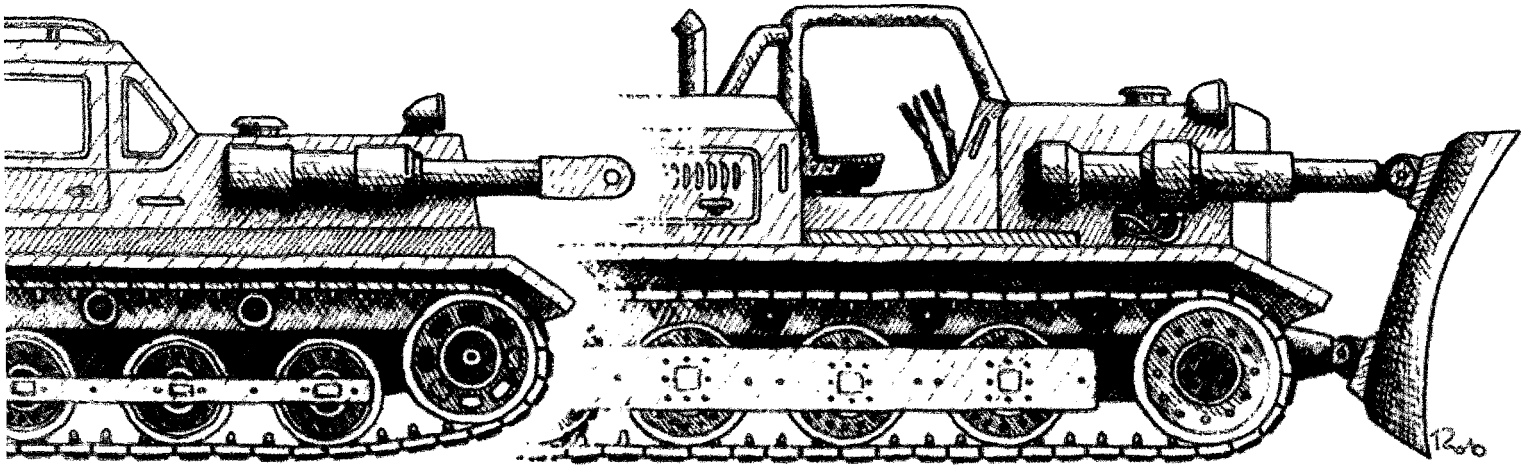

Illustration by Rob Wilson

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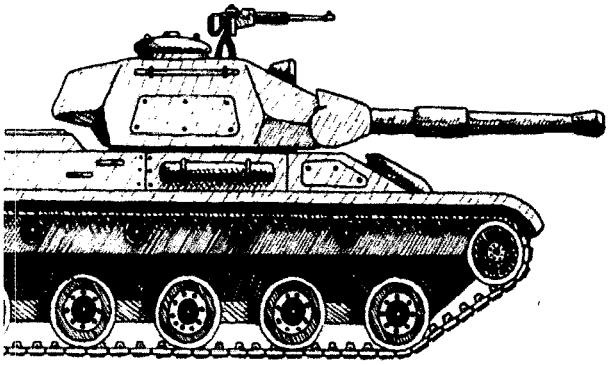
Three-plus years of recession that began in 1990 changed all that, prompting (quite apart from general handwringing and soul searching) a flurry of economic studies by business,



academic and governmental groups attempting to assess the impact of the steep downturn and offer some perspective on what lies beyond the next one or two budget cycles.

It's not that such studies didn't exist before, but rather that none of the state's policy players and certainly none of the public felt much need to pay attention to them. Now that the economists and deep thinkers have our collective attention, however, the question is whether their redefinitions of the past and their unsettling visions of the future lead us to any answers about how to plan for the next quarter century while simultaneously dealing with the very real problems of the here and now.

Certainly, it would be easier to set store in what the economists say about where California is going in the long term if their studies agreed on where the state has been in the recent past. That, alas, is asking too much.

What the studies do offer is a useful cataloging of the key variables that will shape California over the next decade or so and four somewhat distinct scenarios — each partly dependent on short-term policy choices — of what the state will look like in the early part of the next century.

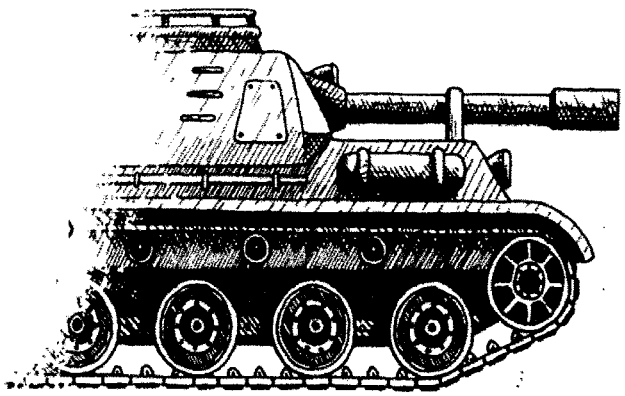
But first, just a little history. Californians like to view the state's ups and downs in the most extreme fashion. In the case of this recession, however, our tendency toward melodrama has some justification.

What happened here in 1990 was a confluence of forces that had been building for more than a decade. Apart from the most obvious ones, such as the end of the great real estate boom and the dramatic drop in military spending, the state began to feel the negative effects of population growth, lack of investment in infrastructure, fiscal policy reforms directed by the initiative process that decreased money available for education and other public services, and regulatory policies that made California less attractive to new businesses.

Despite their disagreement on the precise depth, scope and duration of the recession, the economists and policy analysts who have weighed in on the subject do agree that California has experienced something more fundamental than a cyclical downturn. To any lay observer, that hardly seems a startling revelation. But in the policy community, it put to rest the myth that the state's economic base was sufficiently diverse to withstand major cutbacks in national defense spending.

Among economists, the steep recession and the apparent divergence of California from national trends also forced a more serious attempt to distinguish short-term, or cyclical impacts from permanent or structural changes in the state's economy. In a report prepared last summer for the California Business-Higher Education Forum, Larry Kimbell, director of the UCLA Business Forecasting Project, pointed to a rough consensus among forecasters about which were which. He parsed it this way:

- Jobs lost from defense cuts are permanent, with no



reasonable prospect for recovery of those jobs in the next decade.

- Jobs lost to corporate downsizing are permanent, hitting once-secure middle-management and white-collar jobs particularly hard both in California and the country as a whole. Kimbell estimated that 400,000 of the 600,000 jobs lost in California during the recession occured in downsizing industries, which include not only defense and aerospace, but also retail trade, commercial construction, finance, transportation and telecommunications.
- California's housing and construction industries, while suffering the longest and most depressed downturn in postwar history, will eventually join in the national recovery of these sectors, and may get an additional boost by the need for earthquake rebuilding and seismic retrofitting. New and existing home prices, which soared in the 1980s, will stabilize for a few years and then begin to rise in line with general inflation.
- Foreign trade will be one of the most important sources of long-term growth for California, picking up in the Far East as the Japanese economy recovers and accelerating with Mexico because of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Although Kimbell's analysis was done before the recent Peso crisis, economists at the Business Forecasting Project said the current situation does not alter their long-term outlook.

Part of the reason economists have such difficulty reaching consensus forecasts, especially for the long term, is their annoying refusal to settle upon what to measure and how to measure it. In other words, a cautionary note to the lay analyst trying to compare forecasts: even the variables are infinitely variable.

It helps a little to divide recent studies on California's

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economy into two broad categories — those based upon historical notions of trade, comparative advantage and market forces; and, with appropriate apology to the practitioners, those based upon an extensive collection of empirical data, which then is turned into equations and cranked through econometric models.

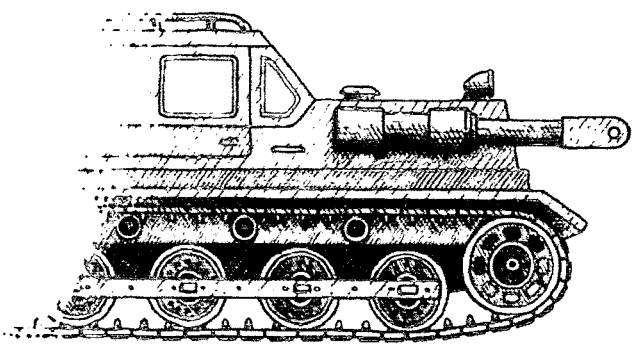
In the former category, again with apologies for oversimplification, put the Palo Alto-based Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy, the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, the Denver-based Center for the New West, and assorted business and trade associations whose studies reflect the concerns and priorities of their members. In the latter category put the UCLA Business Forecasting Project, the state Department of Finance, the Legislative Analyst's Office, and the state's major banks. Obviously, the categories overlap, and some of the recent economic studies by academic and political or civic interest groups draw from both types of analyses.

That said, the big variables look something like this:

• **Geography:** Assuming the next major earthquake does not move the Pacific coastline eastward to Arizona, California's location at the edge of the continent and on the border of two major trading nations remains a positive for the state's long-term future. J. Ian Morrison, president of the Menlo Park-based Institute for the Future, takes geographic advantage a step further. He argues that climate, specifically a true Mediterranean climate in portions of the state, will continue to make California a magnet for "the smart, rich and hopeful."

• **Population:** This is a complicated variable to estimate because it depends not just on birth and death rates, but also on assumptions about domestic migration to California, which in turn are based on assumptions about job growth in the state. Some economists are more optimistic than others. In its 1994 report, the Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy, for instance, was quite emphatic about the long-term trend: "Given the substantial projected growth in population and jobs in the nation, there is no doubt about the finding that California will grow significantly in terms of total jobs, population and households." The report estimated that the United States would add 30 million residents between 1993 and 2005, and another 100 million in the years after 2005. "The question of California reaching a population of 40, 45 or even 50 million is more a matter of when than whether," the CCSE study concluded.

• **Demography:** This obviously is intertwined with population, but there is general agreement among economists who study the state that aging of the baby-boom generation is a fundamental driving force behind many of the



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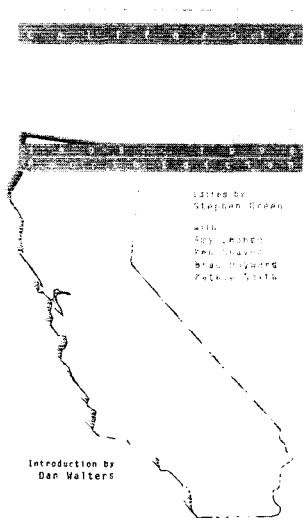

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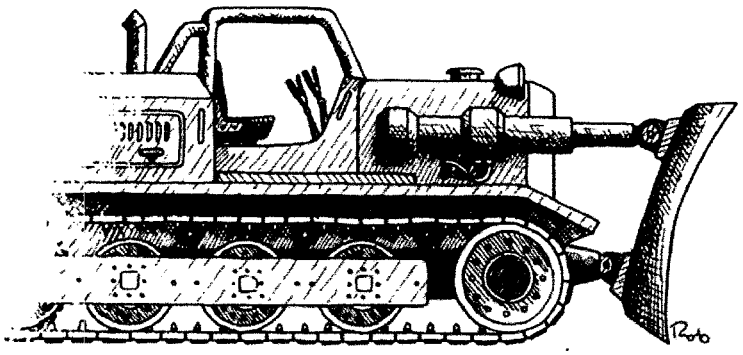
changes projected between now and 2020. Those changes include not just the obvious — such as reconfiguration of the



workforce, increased demands for health-care services that may not get satisfied, and strains on the Social Security and other retirement systems — but also more subtle political and social effects. What happens to the gentrified urban areas that flourished in the 1980s as boomers abandon them in search of safer and more distant suburbs, and what new political pressures emerge as boomer children reach college age and find the state's public university system more costly and seriously overcrowded?

• **Diversity and immigration:** There continues to be disagreement among and between economists and politicians about which income and service-seeking population groups are leaving or coming to California, and how much of the movement is strictly a function of the recession. What is clear, regardless of the direction national immigration policies may take in the next few years, is that sometime in the next century, all groups in California — white, African American, Latino or Asian — are going to be minorities. And if nothing else, that implies a new level of social and political tension in California as traditional alliances and antagonisms among the population groups break down and reform.

> "The future is a lot like the present, only longer."
>
> —Goose Gossage

Wither California in the next 25 years?

As always in economics, there is a scenario with a statistical back-up to suit almost any vision. Stephen Levy, of the Center for the Continuing Study of California, whose forecast appears on page 61, is traditionally an optimist. But many of his prognosticating colleagues are less sanguine given what they regard as a set for fairly limited, and ultimately painful, policy choices. (Why do you think they call economics "the dismal science"?)

The following scenarios are by no means fully wrought forecasts but rather a rough categorization of views from the recent studies of the state's economy.

• **Blade Runner:** This is futurist J. Ian Morrison's grimmest vision of the path California, specifically Southern California, will take. As in the movie by the same name, it assumes "an executive high-tech city where the well-off live in a fortress environment, and beneath them, literally and metaphorically, is a multiethnic polyglot gong show which is both unsafe and unpleasant," Morrison says. Morrison has a variation on this theme in which he describes "white and cranky" baby boomers sitting in nursing homes singing "I Got You, Babe" to each other and demanding that a young multiethnic population pay for them to live in comparative luxury.

• **Texification:** This is University of California, Berkeley, Public Policy Professor John Ellwood's description of how the political and fiscal policy choices California has already made — as well as those that voters seem likely to make in the near future — turn the Golden State into a sort of Texas on the Pacific. Ellwood notes that through the mid-1960s California's rapid economic growth and high per-capita income allowed it to be a high-tax, high public-service state that invested more per capita on public projects (including schools) than the national average. Today, he says, in a view widely shared by economists, California is a moderate tax, moderate public-service state. "What we're headed to is Texas," he says. "Small government, low investment, low wages and a greater gap between rich and poor."

• **Pittsburgh:** This is the coinage of economist Eugene Smolensky, Ellwood's colleague and dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley. It embodies a bit of the "Blade Runner" and "Texas" scenarios by assuming that Los Angeles becomes so congested and unlivable that large numbers of people leave to seek better jobs and better conditions elsewhere. The optimistic result, for those who remain, is Pittsburgh after the collapse of the steel industry — a less-polluted and less-congested city with a well-developed infrastructure and an economy based on banking and finance. In other words, a new equilibrium.

• **Convergence:** For proud Californians, who glory in being, well, different, this is perhaps the least appealing view of the future. It may also be the most realistic. David Hensley, who used to be at the UCLA Forecasting Center and now works for Salomon Brothers, notes that contrary to early wisdom on the differences between California's recession and the one experienced by the rest of the country, the state is actually looking more and more like the United States as a whole. In other words, California's historical uniqueness, in economic terms, is precisely that — history.

"We've been looking at the industry and economic structure of states, and what we're finding is that rather than states cleaving toward what they do best, over the past 30 years they are overwhelmingly converging to a national norm," he says. "This is true of California, too; now more than ever and certainly more than Californians ever believed, the state is a true microcosm."

Susan F. Rasky was an award-winning journalist for The New York Times *before coming West to head the California News Service, a project of the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism.*

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The California Economy:

1970 to the 21st Century Change, Challenge and Opportunity

1970 25 1995
Public Service Journalism

By Steven Levy

Illustration by Donna Rivers, *Journal* 2/76

Californians are used to substantial shifts in the state's economic base. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the California economy was hit with a decline in defense spending that was proportionately larger than the one being experienced today.

The state's economic base made a transition from aircraft and missiles to high tech, apparel, food processing, entertainment and tourism. After two or three years of slow growth, the California economy emerged to outpace the nation in job and wage growth throughout the late 1970s and 1980s.

Now California is in the midst of another great transformation. The aerospace industry is again in decline. High-tech manufacturing,

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which is producing high wages and record sales and profits, is no longer adding jobs because the industry is experiencing rapid gains in worker productivity. While high technology will remain a key growth sector in California, job gains will come primarily in non-manufacturing industries. Nearly all job growth in the nation and state in the decades ahead will be in non-manufacturing sectors.

As the world moves further into the information age, what sectors will lead the California economy? Entertainment will be one. In 1972 there were 3.5 aircraft jobs for every job in motion-picture production. In 1994 motion-picture production had more jobs (and higher wages) than the aircraft industry. Exciting collaborations between the technological wizardry of Silicon Valley and the creative genius of Hollywood will only enhance California's future potential in worldwide entertainment sales.

To succeed in the future world of international competition, California will have to return to the basics of 25 years ago: world-class education, infrastructure and quality of life.

Foreign trade is much more significant to the state's economy in 1994 than it was 25 years ago and will become even more important in the years ahead. In the 1970s California had 10 percent of U.S. trade volume, which was then growing slowly. In 1994 California has 20 percent of U.S. trade, which is now growing rapidly. The fastest-growing world economies are California's Pacific Rim neighbors.

Professional services is where most of the high-wage job growth is now occurring. Industries such as software and engineering and management services are adding high-wage jobs at a rapid pace. California companies like Bechtel and Fluor are providing services on projects from new airport construction in Japan to environmental cleanup in Ohio. Southern California is no longer a site for auto assembly but boasts one of the worlds's leading automotive design centers.

The future is alive and thriving in 1994. Since the end of 1993, California has added more than 150,000 jobs in high wage non-manufacturing industries. Despite the continued loss of aerospace jobs, California added between 250,000 and 300,000 jobs in 1994.

What does California need to do to compete for the high-wage growth industries of the future? Twenty-five years ago the answer was clear. California competed by offering the best educational opportunities, world-class infrastructure, and a quality of life that drew jobs and residents to the state.

Now California is in danger of squandering the legacy from past investments. It has lost the state's great advantage in education. The state's infrastructure needs modernization. Most polls no longer give California an edge in quality of life. However, there is no agreement today on what qualifies as a policy to increase economic competitiveness in California. There is most agreement about reducing unnecessary regulations. Inappropriate regulations or regulations that could be made more cost-effective should be re-examined whether the economy is growing or not and regardless of what the future will bring.

At the same time, study after study (for instance, California Business Roundtable, California Council on Environmental and Economic Balance — CCEEB, California Business-Higher Education Forum — CBHEF) has emphasized that investments in education and infrastructure are critical determinants of state competitiveness. Yet to date, public policy has not reflected the strong beliefs of these bipartisan groups that education, infrastructure, and quality of life are equally or more important than regulations and business costs in attracting the industries of the future.

Make no mistake. Business leaders think education is important in competing for jobs. Becky Morgan, a former state senator and currently president of Joint Venture: Silicon Valley, recently reported: "The perception of California's education system has become a greater deterrent to recruiting executives for the valley than the price of housing."

To succeed in the future world of international competition, California will have to return to the basics of 25 years ago: world-class education, infrastructure and quality of life. This must be California's public-investment agenda for the 1990s. Funding this agenda will require two steps: making the choices to develop long-term balance in the state budget, and carefully delineating areas of agreement about legitimate government functions like education and infrastructure investment and protecting these programs from today's general anti-government fervor.

The state budget dilemma in 1995 will remain even with strong economic growth. Longer-term budget balance is made more difficult by substantial planned increases in funding for prisons. At the present time, there is no escaping a fierce struggle between funding for prisons and funding for higher education, school construction and other infrastructure unless other programs are cut dramatically or more revenues are raised. The state budget cannot be balanced in a secure manner without coming to grips with how state and local governments share responsibilities and revenues. Balancing the state budget by starving local government services does not provide an attractive climate for private investment.

One added payoff from state-local fiscal reform will be freeing local governments to make land-use decisions based more on planning criteria and less on fiscal impacts. One unintended consequence of Proposition 13 has been the development of local fee structures that have increased the cost of housing and other developments because that's the only way for local governments to pay for police, fire and school services.

Some organizations see the need to overcome the anti-government rhetoric and are suggesting proposals to provide more funding capacity to state and local governments. Proposals from bipartisan organizations like CBHEF, CCEEB and the California Citizens' Budget Commission include raising the 2 percent limit on annual assessed value increases under Proposition 13, broadening the sales tax base to services, reducing the two-thirds vote needed to pass some bond measures, and proposing new bond measures to build infrastructure and retire the past budget deficit.

The state that created a fiscal revolution nearly 20 years ago is now called upon to craft another fiscal policy transformation, one that is critical to prepare California for success in the economy of the 21st Century.

Stephen Levy is director of the Center for Continuing Study of the California Economy. CCSCE, which celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1994, provides independent analyses and projections of the California economy to private companies and public institutions. This article was based on "The Outlook for the California Economy" published by CCSCE in November 1994.

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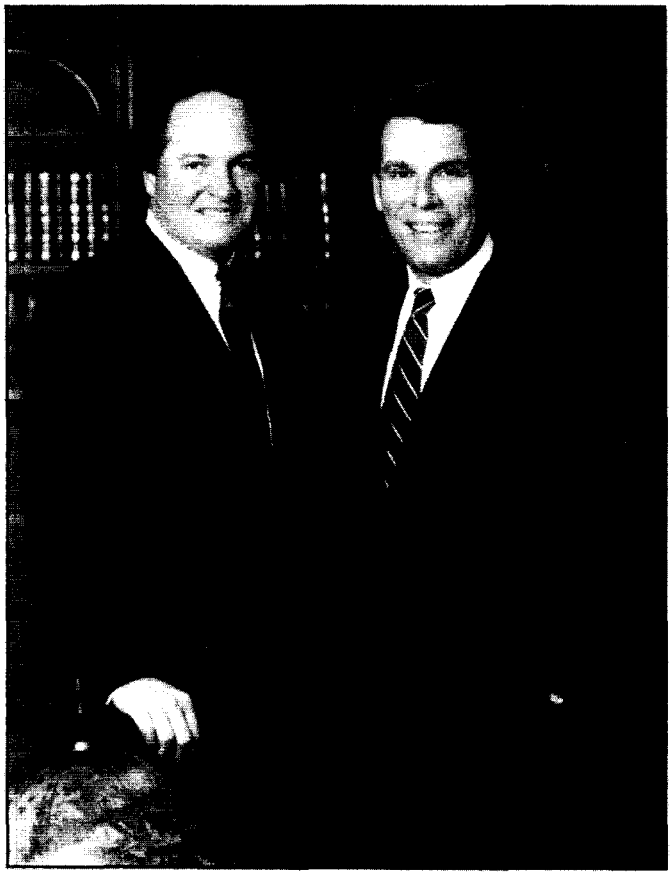

Attorneys Wayne Ordos (left) and Ben Davidian are expanding the firm's legislative advocacy practice.

Wilke, Fleury, Hoffelt, Gould & Birney, the third oldest law firm in Sacramento, is poised to expand its practice by enhancing its political law section. This full service law firm of 30 attorneys, started in 1922, became one of the first law firms in the area to engage in the practice of legislative advocacy.

Political law is a rapidly developing specialty resulting from the enactment of the Political Reform Act (PRA) and the creation of the California Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC). Add to that the widening breadth of federal laws such as the Organized Crime Control Act, which includes the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization (RICO) statutes and the Hobbs Act, which triggers federal prosecution for crimes of bribery and extortion, and the stage is set for intensified activity in political law.

Wilke, Fleury, as the firm is commonly known by clients and peers, has added two exceptionally qualified attorneys — Ben Davidian, former chairman of the FPPC, and Wayne Ordos, former FPPC executive director, to head up its political law practice. "Wayne and I have extensive experience as trial attorneys," says Davidian. "We believe our clients will benefit from both our trial experience and our years managing the FPPC."

The FPPC enforces California's laws relating to political campaign contributions, receipts and expenditures, conflicts of interest and lobbying activities. The commission, under the management and direction of Davidian and Ordos, successfully prosecuted cases resulting in six of the 10 largest political ethics fines in the nation's history.

Ordos, with 10 years as Deputy District Attorney for Sacramento County and three years as Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of California, brings substantial trial experience to the firm. "We can provide representation in the most sophisticated and complex cases in both state and federal courts," he notes. While an Assistant U. S. Attorney, Ordos served as a member of the Federal Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force, where he successfully prosecuted one of the largest organized crime and money laundering criminal enterprise cases in the history of the Eastern District of California.

Davidian served as the Western Regional Commissioner of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Bush Administration from 1989 to 1991. From 1986 to 1989, he served as the Chair of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board under former Governor George Deukmejian. He has served on several international political teams and observed elections in the Republic of Armenia and the People's Republic of China. Davidian also taught the American political process to various political parties in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in preparation for its 1994 democratic parliamentary election.

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Ordos and Davidian are sure to keep clients from running afoul of the law. If necessary, they will litigate or appeal a client's case in virtually any forum, including all administrative and regulatory agencies and the state or federal civil and criminal courts. Both attorneys will provide exceptional service to clients of Wilke, Fleury, Hoffelt, Gould & Birney. ❐

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Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Marc Sandalow

President Pete?

Most people prefer Hawaii. But Governor Pete Wilson likes to winter in Washington. Just about the time the Potomac freezes over and frigid February winds send monument gawkers scurrying for shelter, California's governor drops in for an annual round of lobbying, politicking and schmoozing.

THIS YEAR'S TRIP — ACTUALLY A SERIES OF SEVERAL visits — was the best ever. First, Republicans in Congress promised Wilson virtually everything he asked for regarding immigration relief. Then, his fellow governors rallied around his cry that Washington hand over control of welfare to the states. By the time he had left town in the middle of last month, the national media had anointed him a top-tier candidate for the Republican nomination for president.

The key to Wilson's success in Washington goes beyond his position as chief executive of the nation's most populous state, or the friendships he made during 10 years as a United States senator. Wilson has managed, perhaps more successfully than any other politician in the nation, to carve out a role as a leader in a re-emerging crusade for a "new federalism" that is suddenly the hottest topic in town.

Wilson has always had a good nose for issues. In 1990 he pushed term limits, accusing gubernatorial rival Dianne Feinstein of being beholden to the political establishment — despite more than two decades in public office himself. In 1994 he resuscitated a floundering candidacy with a hard line against illegal immigrants and a tough stance on crime.

And now he stands in the forefront of a politically potent movement to restore authority to the states. The issue is so rich with traditional American values that George Will breathlessly compared Wilson to Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Andrew Jackson and John Calhoun in a recent column.

"California is not, and refuses to be, a colony of the federal government," Wilson declared during a visit to Washington last November, conjuring up images of a defiant governor dumping tea into the Potomac.

The line was so popular he included it in his inaugural address in January, and again in a speech to business leaders in Washington last month. The argument rests on the 10th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which quite simply states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are preserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Those 28 words have become a rallying point, not only for state officials seeking freedom from federal power, but for Republicans in Congress looking for any means to trim federal spending.

For those who are angry at the bloated, centralized government, it provides the perfect remedy — return power to its source, and trim it along the way. It means Californians, not bureaucrats in Washington, should decide whether immigrants and teenage mothers are eligible for welfare, whether citizens should be able to register to vote at the Department of Motor Vehicles, or whether residents should be subjected to environmental regulations. For Wilson, it has been a political gold mine, allowing him to demand more autonomy — and more money — for the people of California while railing against the evil empire in Washington.

As long as it coincides with their conservative agenda, Republicans in Congress are happy to oblige. Among the first laws to pass out of the House of Representatives and Senate was a law making it more difficult for the federal government to impose new mandates on the states without providing funds to pay for them.

"This is a great day to be a governor," declared Wilson, who was in Washington the day the measure passed the House.

Of course the push for devolution is a double-edged sword. Several influential Democrats argue that if states like California are so intent on going it alone, perhaps they should do without emergency relief for floods, or fires, or earthquakes.

Representative David Obey, who was the chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee before Republicans took over, singled out Wilson, exclaiming that "Frankly, I think a lot of us are getting tired of some governors coming to Washington with their hands out," while at the same time asking the federal government to butt out of their affairs.

Wilson bristles at the connection, saying "there are clearly delineated federal responsibilities," such as defense, immigration and emergency disaster relief. Wilson believes that many federal responsibilities could now be turned over to the state. But he is hard-pressed to articulate what principles determine whether a matter ought to be a federal or local responsibility.

"What we are talking about in terms of so-called devolution are programs which in fact could be given to the states entirely, or which can be given with a block grant and a very considerable degree for autonomy." Wilson explained.

Indeed, the enthusiasm of some Republicans for state's rights quickly disappears when it collides with their conservative agenda. Within weeks of passing the unfunded mandates legislation, the House approved billions of dollars in prison construction funds that would only go to states that comply with a set of tough anti-crime requirements.

CONSISTENT OR NOT, WILSON IS CERTAINLY GETTING A good ride out of the issue. In part due to his potential presidential prospects, which he does little to discourage while in Washington, he is a popular interview for reporters from across the country. His visits frequently include stops on the Sunday morning talk show circuit where, on Super Bowl Sunday, he cautiously declined to endorse his home town Chargers on "This Week with David Brinkley," predicting "a California win."

Wilson credits his hospitable greeting in Washington to the Republican's newfound power.

"When the Democrats were the majority, we really were not listened to," Wilson said. "Here we have been invited to participate."

Even for a man who spent a decade in the U.S. Senate, Washington has never been so friendly. And many believe he may like it enough to return for an extended stay.

Marc Sandalow is a Washington correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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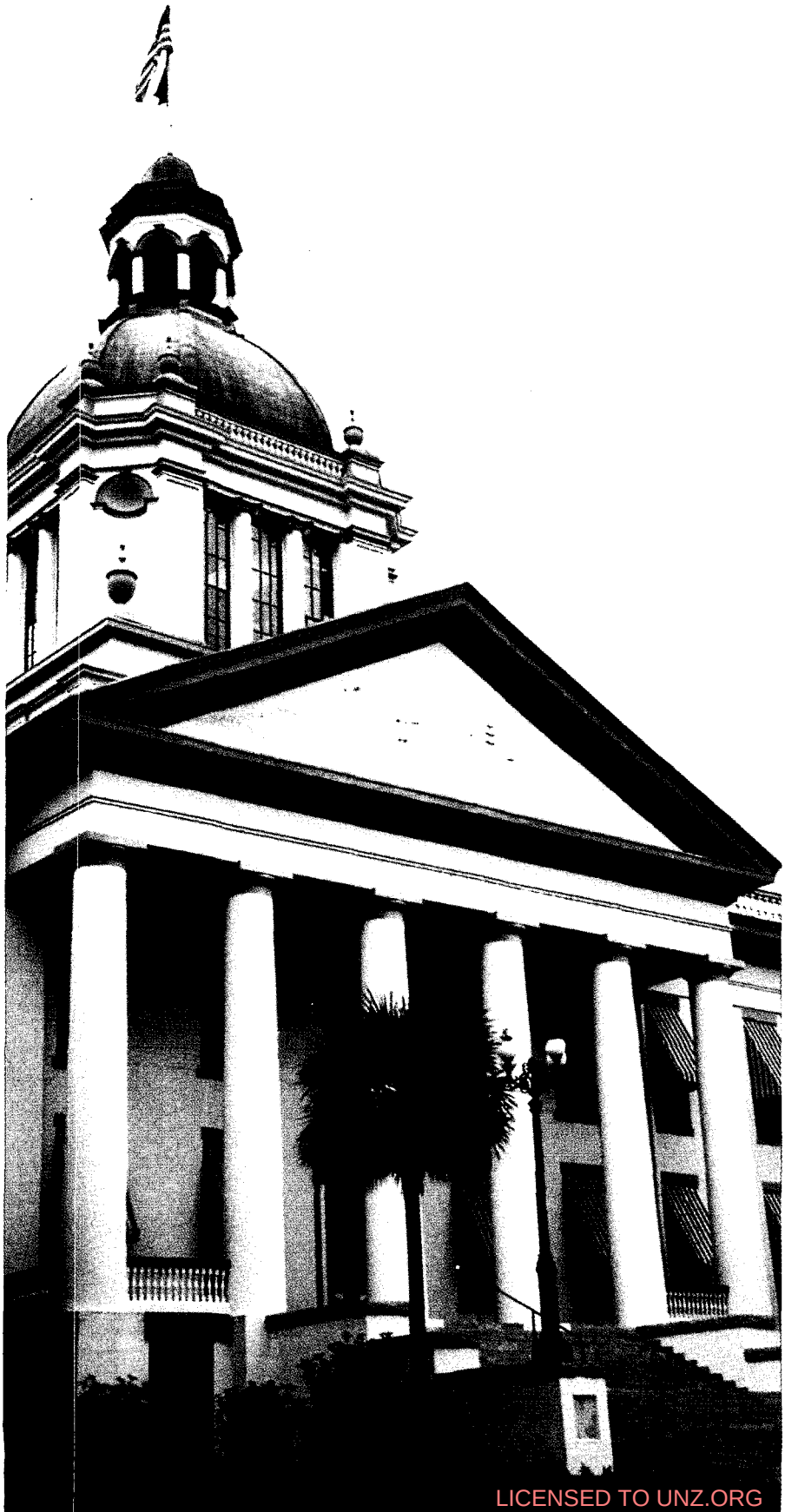

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